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ABSTRACT

The document presents papers, critiques, and discussion from a colloquium in Philadelphia in April, 1978, dealing with citizen education in the United States from 1795 to 1975. The colloquium was the first stage of a project by Research for Better Schools (RBS) to formulate guidelines for citizen education. The document is presented in two major sections. Section I introduces the analysis; relates the purpose of the project; introduces colloquium procedure, topics, and participants; and summarizes recommendations and issues posed by colloquium participants. Section II presents three colloquium papers. In the first paper, entitled "What Should We Learn from the History of Citizenship Education in the United States?", R. Freeman Butts stresses the importance of political education and points out how educational environment influences students' values, knowledge, and political participation skills. In the second paper, "Education of the American Citizen: An Historical Critique," Clarence Karier surveys the dilemma posed by having to choose between education for human development and education to fulfill social needs and provides samples of citizenship programs. The final paper, "Education For Citizenship," by Marvin Lazerson, focuses on multicultural factors in citizen education. Topics discussed include Americanization and schooling, protestantism and patriotism, citizenship and work, and citizenship in a pluralist world. (Author/DB)

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CITIZEN EDUCATION

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS:

FINAL REPORT

PART A: SUMMARY

Submitted to

National Institute of Education

by

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HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF
PAST CITIZEN EDUCATION EFFORTS:
FINAL REPORT
PART A: SUMMARY

The workscope of the Citizen Education component of Research for Better Schools (RBS) calls for the development of an historical analysis of past citizen education efforts.

This report presents the purpose of the task; the procedure used to fulfill it; the topic of the colloquium; the cast of participants; a summary of selected recommendations and issues/questions raised; initial use of this material in the Citizen Education program; and documentation.

Purpose

The intent of this workscope task was to formulate guidelines, suggestions, and caveats for present (and future) citizen education efforts. A historical frame of reference and an analysis of past experience were to form the basis of that task. A number of models for achieving this intent was considered. It was ultimately decided that a particularly fruitful approach would be to convene a forum for leading professionals in education and historiography. The major objective was to present diverse perspectives of citizen education history and to consider how they will and/or should affect current efforts to reconceptualize the field.

Procedure

The day-and-a-half colloquium format called for presentation of three commissioned papers, critiques of each paper by a five-member panel of

expert reviewers, and general discussion between and among presenters and reviewers.

On the basis of an examination of the history-of-education literature and the advice of experts, a list of persons preeminent in the field was developed. Selection criteria included broad representativeness, e.g., those representing the divergent historical viewpoints of traditionalism, revisionism, and liberalism. From this proposed list, three presenters and five reviewers were chosen.

Prior to the meeting, the three major papers were sent to the reviewers as part of their assignment, and to observers as background information. All those attending were informed of the twofold objective of the colloquium: (a) to formulate recommendations for the development of citizen education programs, with special attention to significant caveats; and (b) to identify priority issues in the field which call for further exploration and research.

The colloquium took place on April 19 and 20, 1978, at the Holiday Inn - Independence Mall, Philadelphia.

Topic

Each author was invited to prepare a paper on the history of citizen education and to present it in summary form at the colloquium. Five history-of-education experts were asked to serve as a review panel at the colloquium and to critique the papers individually and as a group. Authors and reviewers were asked to participate in a general colloquium discussion of recommendations and issues/questions concerning citizen education,

based on their retrospective critical analysis. RDS asked that the papers, and the prepared reviews of them, reflect the writer's judgment regarding the important "do's and don'ts" of citizen education, substantiated by documentation and experience in the field. Major organizers suggested for the papers were: (1) What were the citizen education movements of the past? (2) What were the characteristics of these movements? (3) What were the strengths and weaknesses of these movements? (4) What can we learn from these movements?

Participants

Authors selected to write papers were R. Freeman Butts of San Jose University, Clarence J. Karier of the University of Illinois, and Marvin Lazerson of the University of British Columbia. Reviewers included John H. Best of The Pennsylvania State University, William W. Cutler, III, of Temple University, Allen F. Davis of Temple University, and Michael B. Katz of York University (Toronto). Finally, some individuals were asked to attend the colloquium as observers. (A list of participants and observers is attached to this report.)

A summary compilation of selected viewpoints expressed at the meeting follows.

Summary of Selected Colloquium Highlights

The selected highlights which follow were culled from a study of the colloquium transcript. Because of the variety and scope of the dialogue, it was decided not to impose an arbitrary categorization on them. In some cases, it was possible to list the points in a content flow; in

others, not. It should also be noted that, as intended, conflicts, controversy, and contradictions occasionally arise. Two major divisions, recommendations and issues/questions, have been used to guide the reader. Recommendations are largely directive or prescriptive. The issues/questions embrace those areas where it was found that unresolved queries best represent the state of the art in the history of citizen education.

Recommendations

- The proper end of citizen education is to promote achievement of one's potential, not service to the state. Thus citizen education should stress persons striving toward self-development, not citizens serving the state.
- There should be limits to state influence on citizen education. The limits should reflect a social philosophy and psychology of human development which value human freedom.
- Citizen education should use our civic/public life as a vehicle for analytic, cognitive inquiry into real current and/or controversial and/or critical community issues. For example, ecological conflicts, apparent inequalities of opportunity, and public housing factors typify such issues. This position calls for students to understand real problems (vs. textbook knowledge) and the complex issues involved.
- Citizen education should include a critical analysis of American social, political, and economic institutions and realities.
- Citizen education should not ignore the conflicts in our culture. Students need to understand where and why the real and the ideal diverge.
- Citizen education should teach the skills of political participation and action, e.g., engaging in civil discourse, being active in a candidate's campaign.
- Character development should have a prominent place in citizen education. This element should not be overshadowed by political knowledge and activism.
- Formal citizen education curricula should be first and foremost political in character; that is, do not diffuse it with, say, interpersonal

concerns (e.g., transposing problems of democracy into problems of adolescence). Nevertheless, student involvement (feeling, affect) should not be neglected in a chiefly cognitive, informational approach.

- A coalition of community groups should be formed. Such a coalition could help to minimize or contain potential opposition to citizen education from potentially threatened power blocs in a particular community or a number of communities.

- Ethnographic approaches may be useful where direct intervention would be opposed. Both teachers and students may find ethnographic studies more acceptable.

- The citizen education approach must be deliberately limited in definition, content, scope, outcomes, and goals. If it tries to be all things to all people, or everything in general, it will fail. A disclaimer to this effect in any citizen education statement or prospectus would be desirable.

- Program architects must take one model program now and run with it. We cannot wait for the mythical "perfect" program.

- Citizen education should be in part preparation for work as well as leisure time. That is, it should address the many facets of contemporary life.

- Citizen education should teach a commitment to our common values and our traditional civil liberties. These values and liberties include freedom, equality, obligation to the public good, and popular consent.

- Commitment to values should not be included in citizen education.

- Citizen education should address both the skills and knowledge of participation. There are important issues to resolve in this position. For instance, with regard to knowledge, to what degree do citizens participate? Who? What does participation mean? Is it invariably beneficial?

- Citizen education should breed distrust of the top-down "expert," for reliance on so-called expertise can be antithetical to democratic values.

- Citizen education should stress how such factors as socioeconomic level impinge on the American ideal of individual accountability. The real world needs to be clearly seen.

- Citizen education must make a conscious attempt to act at several levels: in various school classrooms (e.g., language arts), in aspects of the

school climate and the invisible curriculum, and in informal activities calling for a values decision.

- Teachers require special training to be effective in citizen education instruction.

- Since the contemporary scene/culture defines citizen education approaches, models developed or implemented at other times would probably not be effective today. Our approach must be determined by our times.

- Citizen education should not let humanistic content (e.g., consequence training, interpersonal relations) mask deeper societal problems. Such techniques enliven the educational process, but there is a danger that they distract from the real, hard citizenship concerns.

- Citizen education should not transform the school into a "dumping ground" for societal problems. It is not education's function or responsibility to tackle society's problems.

- In order to formulate a new definition of citizen education, there is a need to rethink the role of the state and to deal with fundamental issues concerning economic inequality in our culture. Without this preparation, our vision is skewed.

- Citizen education should be far broader than the school. It should extend to other agents of socialization and acculturation. For instance, the family, the media, and the community play socializing roles and can be important reinforcers of citizen education programs.

- Citizen education should reflect both the values of multicultural diversity and democratic principles held in common.

- Citizen education should avoid the purely descriptive, idealized (and tedious) approach of old civics courses. It has been neither an effective nor an instructive approach.

Issues/Questions

- Should there be a differentiated citizen education curriculum in the school? If so, are appropriate ones available, or need we develop one?

- Prior to the advent of TV, what were the major educational forces in the area of character formation? Can we make use of them today?

- How can we move on with citizen education when so many of our fundamental historic assumptions (e.g., equating Protestantism with patriotism)

are now called into question? Should we not deal with these fundamentals first?

- How can we resolve the idealistic rhetoric of American democratic principles with such realities as racism, economic inequality, discrimination against ethnic groups, and difficulty of upward mobility?

- Since ethnicity is obviously a factor in citizen education, how can we deal with society's palpably differential rewarding (and punishing) of different ethnic groups? How about our melting-pot rhetoric?

- Is the "redefinition" of citizen education "up for grabs"? Does the current confusion create a vacuum which will perforce be filled?

- Is there a danger that a "new" citizen education will fail because of current incompatible and unmanageable pressures for individual rights and group equality?

- Can we influence citizen education textbook publishers? How can we guide the development of materials to be used in citizen education programs?

- We need hard data regarding the actual citizen education experience of the past (as opposed to, for instance, formal curricula, written objectives). What really took place in the classroom? What have been the intended and unintended results?

- The impact of TV is a crucial consideration. Has it usurped the school as a citizen socializer/informer? Can schools counter the influence of the media? Does the school still retain its distinctive role in the life of children? What is its current impact, in light of the power of TV, especially on children? Can TV be used to reinforce citizen education in the schools?

- Will a community's power elite permit the school to encourage students to critically analyze the power structure? Will the teacher and the educational establishment condone it?

- If citizen education included training in American democratic principles, who is to define the terms like "the public good"? Whose authority is to prevail in these matters? Whose responsibility is it?

- Have the school and the teacher lost their legitimacy in our society? If this is true to some extent, what options do we have?

- Has the legitimacy of our social order, which the schools once fostered, also lost credibility? If this is true to some extent, how pervasive is the attitude?

- Has the school lost its effectiveness in preparing students for the civic mainstream? Is it out of touch with the students' world?
- Whose values should citizen education espouse?
- The citizen education field is now so rich and active that it suffers from diffusion, fragmentation, and sparse areas of agreement. How can we pull it together?
- Are citizen education curricula differentially conceived and taught according to class, economic level, and prevailing values? If so, how can this be controlled?
- How can citizen education foster a sense of community, if in fact that sense of community no longer characterizes American culture?
- Students prefer studying visionary rhetoric rather than the contemporary realities, such as economic inequality. How can we wean them to the real?
- Should citizen education outcomes be specified as, for instance, behaviors, dispositions, or knowledge?
- Do fundamental problems in our society and governmental policies (e.g., Viet Nam, CIA abuse of power) militate against a valid, convincing redefinition of citizen education? Are the times not conducive to an emphasis on citizenship?

Initial Use of Colloquium Material

The foregoing summary of recommendations and issues/questions represents the essence of the colloquium proceedings. The points have been collected and analyzed for relevance and importance to the developing citizen education work of RBS.

The highlights, along with the commissioned papers, have already been, and will continue to be, instrumental in shaping program direction. For instance, Clarence Karier elaborated on a state versus citizen dialectic; this viewpoint added an important dimension to the conceptualization preparation. R. Freeman Butts stressed the importance of political education;

this orientation is reflected in the classroom practices survey design and school-selection tasks related to school organization and climate. Finally, Marvin Lazerson addressed multicultural factors; his emphasis is reflected in several elements of the RBS 18-month plan for citizen education which relate to urban and multiethnic considerations. In addition, selected colloquium highlights may become the basis for, or generate, future position papers and knowledge-consolidation tasks.

Documentation

The commissioned papers are attached and constitute a major substantive part of this final report. Also attached are copies of the materials distributed at the colloquium. The transcript of the colloquium proceedings, a further important input to this review, appears in Part B of this final report. RBS plans to disseminate the colloquium papers and selected sections of the proceedings. Publication and distribution will be carried out according to the general dissemination plan to be developed for the entire Citizen Education component. While this plan will be primarily for the tri-state region, a wider dissemination strategy is possible for the colloquium papers.

Appendix 1

MAJOR COLLOQUIUM PAPER

"What Should We Learn from the History of Citizenship Education in the United States?" by R. Freeman Butts

WHAT SHOULD WE LEARN FROM THE HISTORY OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES?

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April 11, 1978

ABSTRACT

What Should We Learn From the History of
Citizenship Education in the United States?

R. Freeman Butts

Civic education has been the product of a three-way tension among the value claims of a democratic political community, the value claims of segmented pluralisms, and the pressures of the world-wide modernization process. The interplay of these major elements in American history has resulted in the various pushes and pulls that have buffeted citizenship education throughout our national existence. So, there have been persistent dilemmas: we believe that universal education is fundamental to the welfare of the republic, but we draw back from political indoctrination in the schools (especially if it doesn't agree with our particular views). The urgency to promote civic education rises in times of national crisis or very rapid social change. Progressive reformers have had one kind of prescription; conservative traditionalists have had another. My own view is that the reformist trends have been more in tune with the best of our democratic goals and practices. But modern society requires a much different kind of civic education from that of the past. It should deal with the political values, political knowledge, and skills of political participation required of a modern democratic political community.

Distinguished Professor of Education
San Jose University

What Should We Learn From the History of Citizenship Education in the United States?

R. Freeman Butts

The historical interpretation upon which this discussion paper is based has been set forth briefly in a chapter entitled "Historical Perspective on Civic Education in the United States" contained in the report of the National Task Force on Citizenship Education, Education for Responsible Citizenship (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1977). That chapter in turn was based upon the more inclusive historical interpretation embodied in Public Education in the United States: From Revolution to Reform (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978). Variations on the theme regarding prescriptions for the civic role of public schools have been sounded in several different articles over the past five years. If, perchance, anyone should have read all of them, the reaction could easily be "If you've seen one, you've seen them all." But I list them here because they were addressed to different public and professional audiences, and they were produced during the period when I was doing research and writing the larger single volume on the history of public education. The interaction between my concern for good history and good policy is obvious and, I believe, defensible:

"The Public School: Assaults on a Great Idea," The Nation, April 30, 1973.

"The Public Purpose of the Public School," Teachers College Record, December 1973.

"Public Education and Political Community," History of Education Quarterly, Summer 1974.

"Foundations of Education and the New Civism," Educational Studies, Fall/Winter 1975.

"The Search for Purpose in American Education," College Board Review, Winter 1975/1976.

"Once Again the Question for Liberal Public Educators: Whose Twilight?" Phi Delta Kappan, September 1976.

"Public Education in a Pluralistic Society," Educational Theory, Winter 1977.

"The Public School as Moral Authority" in Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, The School's Role as Moral Authority (Washington, D.C., ASCD, 1977).

It might be said that the first thing one should learn from history is to learn something about the conceptual framework of the historian. My own intellectual, historiographical, and political orientation is set forth in Public Education in the United States. I can only hint at it here, but I should say that it is considerably different (and I hope improved) from that set forth in The Education of the West (1973) and "The Public Purpose of the Public School" (1973). In those pieces I was playing vigorously on the modernization theme. I still believe that it is an essential ingredient in social change, but a more satisfactory interpretation can be achieved by viewing the history of the civic role of public education as a product of the three-way tension arising from the interplay of modernization, the cohesive value claims that undergird the oversall democratic political community, and the differentiating value claims of segmental pluralisms that give identity to various groups in the society.

In the interest of convenience for discussion I identify four ingredients of each of these three building-blocks of the civic role of public education:

Cohesive value claims of the democratic political community

Liberty

Equality

Popular consent

Personal obligation for the public good

Differentiating Value claims of segmental pluralisms

Religion

Ethnicity

Race

Localism

The world-wide modernization process

Mobilizing and centralizing power of the State

Popular participation

Industrial urbanization

Secularization

Proponents of citizenship education in the schools almost always appealed in their rhetoric to the cohesive value claims of democracy as the rationale for a basic civic role for schooling. Sometimes this was wrapped in the authority of a particular religion (say Protestant Christianity), or ethnicity (Anglo-Americanism), or race (white superiority), or localisim (states' rights). In these cases one segment of the pluralisms sought to use the public schools to promote its particular version of democratic political values. When other segments of pluralism grew strong or resistent they might seek to break away from the cohesive push and form their own schools or promote <u>their</u> values as the basis for building a sense of particularistic community. When the pluralistic pulls to differentiation seemed to threaten the cohesion of the overall political community, the claims of modernization (in the form of national unity, national strength, or economic development) often put an overweening emphasis on patriotic loyalty into the citizenship education programs of the schools that sometimes led to a conformism stifling to dissent.

This analysis led me to this generalization: For 200 years the American people have struggled with the tricorn dilemna of politics and education.

They have believed that education is fundamental to the health and vitality of an ideally democratic political community; but they also believed in large measures of freedom of belief and action for segmental pluralistic communities; and, especially in times of real or fancied crisis, they have believed in civic education for national unity and loyalty.

The urge to promote citizenship education through the schools has arisen most insistently when the threats to national unity seem to be most critical or when drastic social changes seem to threaten social or political stability. The threats, however, have been viewed from very different perspectives, and the prescriptions for renewed unity have led to quite different conclusions.

One kind of approach has stressed the need for greater cohesion and mobilization of disparate groups in order to achieve liberal social and political reforms; in Robert Wiebe's terms, to achieve "a new social integration, a higher form of social harmony," releasing "powerful feelings of liberation from an inhibiting past and great expectations for a dawning new era." (The Segmented Society, pp. 124-125) Such were the Revolutionary, Jacksonian, early Reconstruction, Progressive, New Deal, and New Frontier/Great Society periods.

Another kind of approach has stressed the need for citizenship education to reenforce the traditional or conservative cohesive values of the American past, its national destiny and power, its devotion to individual worth and effort, its free enterprise system, its superiority to other peoples and nations, and the necessity to protect the American way of life from pluralistic threats from "alien" sources, whether of massive immigration, militant or subversive radicalism, hot wars, or cold wars.

Sometimes, of course, the motivations and prescriptions cannot be so easily distinguished. The complexity of the periodic urges to reform citizen-

ship education increased the sharpness of the horns of the dilemma. As a result of this persistent three-way pulling and hauling among the claims of a democratic polity, of segmental pluralisms, and of aggressive economic and nationalistic modernity the civic education programs of the past have seemed to recent historians to vacillate between two extremes: between didactic approaches that ranged between two extremes: those motivated by strong moral, national, or nativist fervor which gave civic education a tone of preachy or pugnacious patriotism; and those that would at all costs avoid political controversy in the schools and thus turned civic education into pedantic, pallid, platitudinous, or pusilanimous exercises.

Now, there is no doubt that these extremes were exhibited in the history of citizenship education. Marvin Lazerson, David Tyack, Ruth Elson and others have amply documented the examples. But I believe that we can also learn valuable "lessons" from the history about desirable as well as undesirable approaches to civic education. I shall try to point to a few of these in each of the four historical periods that I used for my discussion in the chapter in the Task Force Report and in my Public Education in the United States.

The Revolutionary Ideal: Unum (1726-1826)

I believe that Unum is still a desirable goal for civic education. The regeneration of a sense of political community should be a prime goal for the education of each new generation of Americans. The sense of community as I define it is a commitment to the basic values of constitutional government as denoted by the concepts of liberty, equality, popular consent, and personal obligation for the public good. These were values promulgated by the founders of the Republic in the Revolutionary era and embodied in the Declaration, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights. I believe the welfare of the Republic

does rest on an educated citizenry, as the founders argued. I believe that the prime purpose, the highest priority, for a genuinely public education is the political goal of empowering the whole population to exercise the rights and cope with the responsibilities of a genuinely democratic citizenship.

But we also should learn that society and government and thus the nature of citizenship have changed drastically in the past 200 years. So we cannot be content with the prescriptions for a civic curriculum that were produced in the late 18th or early 19th centuries. Simple literacy in the 3 R's for elementary school white boys is obviously not enough. Simple history as proposed by Jefferson or the elements of civil government as proposed by Washington are not enough. Vague preachments on the glories of liberty, as described by Ruth Elson, are not enough. Textbooks should not be left to the socially or politically conservative authors. Didactic appeals to the moral, spiritual, or political virtues are not enough, and partisan indoctrination of particular economic or ideological platforms is not appropriate.

Yet, somehow, the schools do have a responsibility for doing all they can to teach the values, the knowledge, and the participation skills required of a modern democratic citizenry. Such ingredients should not be left largely to the political parties, the newspapers, the ministers, or the coffee houses as they were in the Revolutionary period; nor to business or labor, or to Walter, John, David, Harry, or even Barbara today. I summarize my guidelines for today's civic education at the end of this paper.

The Post-Revolutionary Reality: Pluribus (1826-1876)

In reexamining the stated purposes used to justify the development and spread of the common public school in the middle decades of the 19th century, I believe that the citizenship argument is still valid. The highest priority

for a genuinely public school is to serve the public purposes of a democratic political community. The "back to the basics" people should be reminded that citizenship is the basic purpose for universal literacy. If the fundamental purposes of schooling are preparing for a job, or preparing for college, or developing individual talents, these could be achieved in private schools that select students for particular destinies. But I believe that the faith of the common school reformers, as of the founders, that the civic tasks can best be performed by public schools that are characterized primarily by a public purpose, public control, public support, public access, and public commitment to civic unity was soundly based.

Now, it is obvious that the public school reformers did not achieve these goals. I believe that Horace Mann was on the right track when he argued for the necessity of what he candidly called "political education." But I believe that he fell short of what is needed (then as well as now). While he stressed the understanding of the constitutional regime and knowledge about civil government, he backed away from the discussion of controversial political or constitutional questions in the schoolroom. He thus helped to establish the tradition that the schools are not legitimate forums in which to discuss politically sensitive matters. This was a difficult issue for Mann, but he concluded that it was better to have "neutral" public schools than to have none, a denouement he feared would come about if the schools became "theatres for party politics." I think we can and must find a way to surmount Mann's difficulties.

A second thing we should learn from the middle decades of the 19th century is that there were at least two lines of thought that influenced the civic role of public education with regard to the assimilation of the immigrants who began to come in large numbers prior to the Civil War. It is undoubtedly true that a

growing nativism in the period from the 1830's to the 1850's sometimes gave to the public school movement an anti-Catholic, anti-radical, and Anglo-superiority tone. But we should also remember with John Higham that there was another more democratic and more cosmopolitan point of view displayed by some proponents of the public schools who argued that they should be a humane assimilative force. In the 1860's and 1870's ethnic rivalries declined, nativism was muted, modernization welcomed enormous new pools of manpower, a Christian belief in the brotherhood of man was still alive and well. All these influences flowed into what Higham calls "The Age of Confidence", i.e. confidence in the capacity of the Republic to accept great diversity and pluralism as a basic characteristic of the democratic political community. And the public schools could contribute to this cosmopolitan view of assimulation. Bilingual public schools in several states exemplified this faith.

The Civics of Modernization (1876-1926)

The main "lesson" we should learn from the Gilded Age and Progressive era is that there were two major pressures upon the schools to prescribe their citizenship education. The first and the most influential through most of this period emanated from the business-oriented and nationalistic nativism associated with a burgeoning modernization movement. The three significant changes in civic education noted in my historical chapter and book reflect these pushes to conformity: (1) the shrill and passionate patriotism owed to a great and powerful nation that was exercising its Manifest Destiny, Winning the West, Building an Empire, and Making the World Safe for Democracy; (2) the demand for instant Americanization of the millions upon millions of immigrants who flooded into the United States from the 1880's to the 1920's; and (3) the

glorification of the self-made man who labored (and prospered) on behalf of free enterprise and a limited government. It is not difficult to see these trends illustrated in textbooks in American history and civil government.

For much of the period these elements of the modernization mood dominated the civic education in the schools as they did much of American public life. They overhsadowed the value claims of the historic democratic political community and of the newly arrived and vastly varied pluralistic communities. Often, some business-oriented or economy-minded "progressives" joined in these views on behalf of "social control."

But, as Robert Wiebe so well points out, there was a second strain of the new middle class professionals who were welfare-oriented or social-service progressives. Their concern was the use of liberal government on behalf of social reform (in prisons, sweat shops, child labor, and temperance) as well as political reform (civil service, electoral innovations, women's suffrage, and compulsory attendance on behalf of universal education). This stream of progressive endeavor resulted in a number of efforts to reform citizenship education in the schools. These included: the stiffening of history teaching by basing it on primary sources and thus combating the chauvinsim of the rampant nativism; the effort to develop a "community civics" to replace a sterile approach to constitutional structures; and the "new civics" embodied in the social studies movement and in the Seven Cardinal Principles. Some welfare-oriented progressives even tried to re-orient the Americanization process so that ssimilation would be accomplished generously and sympathetically with respect for immigrant cultures and traditions. Thus was "cultural pluralism" born.

I hope that we have had done with the excesses of the nativistic and superpatriotic conformity that marked the aggressive modernization period. I think we

could learn a good deal from the effort to stress reasoned problem solving on behalf of "all manner of social efforts to improve mankind." (Task Force Report, p. 58). I hope that schools can take seriously the "problems-approach" to social, economic, and political issues. But one result of all these "reform" movements in civic education of this period was to reduce the political concerns of history, and of civics, and of social studies. There has been a withdrawal from the study of the basic ideas of the constitutional regime and the political community. The general civic education curriculum seldom dealt with the fundamental concepts and meaning of liberty, equality, justice, and obligation for the public good. Still less often did the practices of schools reflect these ideas in their governance or activities.

Recurring Calls for Reform of Civic Education (1926-1976)

I believe that the best way I can illustrate what I believe we should learn from the last 50 years of the history of civic education is to refer to two of my most recent articles and to quote excerpts from them here.* These comments should be considered in the light of my general historical judgment that the values of segmental pluralisms have been forcefully reasserted in the recent past and have gained enormous popularity among educators and the public. Witness the rise of the new ethnicity, a neo-conservatism in social and political philosophy, cultural pluralism in educational philosophy, multiculturalism and bilingualism in curriculum, and the rage of alternatives of all kinds, including alternatives to the public school.

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* "Whose Twilight?" Phi Delta Kappan, September 1976; and "Education for Citizenship," Vital Issues, April 1977.

In addition, some of the value claims of the democratic political community in relation to education have been reasserted. In the past half century the values of freedom (for parents, teachers, and students) have been enhanced. The values of equality have made considerable headway (dismantling the segregated school systems, equalizing financial support, compensatory education, affirmative action). But the values of political community have been diminished (Vietnam War, Watergate, campus unrest, corruption, violence in the schools). These generalizations have been discussed at length in Part IV of Public Education in the United States and briefly in an ASCD pamphlet entitled The School's Role as Moral Authority (Washington, D.C., Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1977).

ADDENDUM

(Portions of selected articles by R. Freeman Butts: Excerpted from Phi Delta Kappan and Vital Issues)

"I happen to think that while economic problems are exceedingly important, the role of the public school should be basically political rather than economic. In this I go back to the founders of the republic who viewed their revolution primarily in political terms rather than economic or social, and who thus viewed the kind of education needed in the new republic largely in political terms rather than as a means to academic excellence or individual self-fulfillment or preparation for a job.

They talked about public education as a guarantor of the republican values of liberty, equality, and devotion to the public good. As liberal reformers they saw the need to mobilize disparate social and cultural and economic groups

if greater political cohesion and unity were to be achieved. Subsequent periods of reform echoed the revolutionary faith: Jacksonian liberal reformers pinned faith on the universal common school as an integral part of the egalitarianism of the day; liberal Reconstruction reformers even hoped that the public common school could be extended to the South; the Progressive liberal reformers of the early 1900s turned to the idea of a common public secondary system as an extension of the common school; New Deal liberal reformers like Counts and the social frontiersmen saw the public school as a means to greater economic justice; and the New Frontier/Great Society liberal reformers hoped that open access, affirmative action, compensatory education, and desegregation would lead to greater social justice for the disadvantaged poor, for racial and ethnic minorities, and for women.

I believe all of these liberal reform movements were basically useful responses to the problems of their day. Now, however, I believe the problem is more acutely political than it has been since the Revolutionary era. The evidence mounts on every side -- from scholarly studies to opinion polls to political party leaders -- that there is today among all classes of people a deep and widespread disenchantment with government and with political institutions. Upon this, conservatives, radicals, and liberals all agree, the polls agree, and even President Ford and President Carter agree. What they disagree on is what to do about it. Conservatives in philosophy and politics (like Nisbet, Nozick, Ford, and Reagan) say, Let's turn the leviathan around and have less government in the interests of individual freedom. Radicals say, Let's have socialist or Communist government in the interests of equality for the masses of society, even if liberty must be restricted in the process. Anarchists say, Let's have no government. Nihilists say, Let's have terror in all your houses, for there is no way to achieve orderly political change.

Liberals (like Charles Frankel, John Rawls, Morris Udall, and Hubert Humphrey) say, Let's have an improved welfare state, a more vital and positive democratic government on behalf of freedom, equality, and social justice. Liberal scholars and journalists at the moment seem to be more forthright on the subject than the bulk of the teaching profession itself. Rawls argues that government should adhere to his general conception of justice:

> All social primary goods -- liberty and opportunity, income and wealth, and the bases of self-respect -- are to be distributed equally unless an unequal distribution of any or all of these goods is to the advantage of the least favored.
>
> The two contributing principles of justice are these:
>
> 1. Each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive total system of equal basic liberties compatible with a similar system of liberty for all.
>
> 2. Social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both: a) to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged ... and b) attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity.

I find it heartening that such diverse black leaders as Eldridge Cleaver, Jesse Jackson, and Bayard Rustin have recently expressed their belief that liberal political means may still be the preferred road to achieving justice and equality for blacks in America. After several years as a fugitive from the United States, Cleaver returned from abroad to say that despite its imperfections America had more liberty of thought and action than some "socialist" countries. In a letter to the Los Angeles Times, he said:

Politically, in terms of the development of our democratic institutions, America is more than the hope of the world. By comparison, America is like an advanced civilization from another world.

The greatest mistake we have made as a nation is to allow our shining principles to lapse so far into disuse that we misname them clichés.

Jesse Jackson recently called upon black Americans to become more self-reliant and more active in their own self-development. Political action is one key to the realization of their vision, and reassertion of their moral authority and ethical conduct is another; but, he said, 'the greatest potential for self-development is to be found in the public schools in our cities.'

And Bayard Rustin, president of Social Democrats, U.S.A., has said in his criticism of the doctrine of international 'no-growth' economics:

> ...(T)he willingness to abandon growth at once symbolizes and contributes to the weakening of the liberal will and liberal vision in the West. Above all else, liberals have fought for a society offering an increasing possibility for the fulfillment of individual potential within the context of a just legal and economic order. The failure to achieve perfect justice and perfect opportunity should in no way obscure the very real progress that has been made toward these ideals. Not the least of these achievements is the perpetuation of a democratic form of government that, whatever its flaws, has permitted ordinary people to have a voice in, and sometimes to dominate, the political system. It is, furthermore, a system that has reduced the influence of privilege without coercion or purges.

I have no doubt that the reformist liberal position requires both liberal government and liberal education to stand for and to work actively for social justice and for equality. This distinguishes liberalism from laissez-faire conservatism. But liberalism, as its very name proclaims, stands for political liberty as well. This distinguishes it from revolutionary radicalism. For me, the constitutional liberties enunciated in the Bill of Rights embody the essence of the political community that is liberal: the freedoms of religion, thought, investigation, speech, teaching, communication, assembly, due process, privacy, jury trial, suffrage, habeas corpus, and equal protection of the laws. Progress toward justice and equality cannot be made by sacrificing the constitutional liberties, but only by strengthening them.

This is no plea for 'law and order' as code words for repression of dissident views or minority claims for greater freedom and equality. It is a plea for a genuine reform liberalism.

William V. Shannon of the New York Times editorial staff put it well indeed:

> Aside from exigent economic problems, liberals have to renew the authority of the nation's institutions and strengthen its sense of community. Patriotism, a natural and essential emotion, needs to be revitalized in intellectual terms as a legitimate ideal after the cruel excesses and misplaced sacrifices of Vietnam.
>
> Liberals have to develop education policies that lead to genuine learning in the schools, and health insurance, welfare, and housing policies that strengthen the family and the neighborhood.
>
> Conservatives fumble while nihilist shadows flicker. Can liberals meet the real needs of the nation's majority?

Two hundred years ago the liberal founders thought that they could meet the needs of the majority if they brought into being a political revolution providing self-government and individual freedoms and based upon a republican public education. One hundred fifty years ago the Jacksonian and Whig liberals thought that they could, if state governments were used for social reform purposes -- for the redress of inequities and injustices -- in common schools, prisons, poor relief, suffrage, crime, immigration, women's rights, and child labor. One hundred years ago Reconstruction liberals thought that they could, if the federal government would take active steps to achieve equal rights of citizenship for black and white alike, including among other things public schools. Forty years ago New Deal liberals thought that they could meet the needs of the majority if government and schools alike sought to build a new social and economic order.

What shall we say today? I hope we will say something like this: I believe that educational liberals can meet the needs of the nation if they will mobilize education's political role in achieving freedom, equality, and community. The highest priority should be given to the educational search for a viable, inclusive, and just political community. For me this means a special concern for community of nation above locality, state, or region, and of world above nation. A civic liberal education should be focused upon resolving the tensions between the principles of freedom and equality and promoting an active and normative commitment to constitutional rights, justice, and the principle of equal liberties. These principles should be applied to the whole range of knotty problems of access, control, support, organization, curriculum, teaching, and life of the schools in the effort to achieve the massive turn-around that the whole educational system requires. A good place to start would be to accelerate

efforts to focus the liberal civic curriculum of the schools and colleges upon the values, knowledge, and skills of participation required of citizens in the promotion of their constitutional rights and civil liberties."

Phi Delta Kappan

"My own view is that the political goal of civic education in American schools is to deal with all students in such way as to motivate them and enable them to play their parts as informed, responsible, and effective members of a modern democratic political system. This is to be achieved by orienting them to the values, the knowledge, and the skills of participation required for making deliberate choices among real alternatives in all three aspects of the political system.

A. The Political System

(1) The political community: The group of persons drawn together by their common participation in shared governing processes and bound together by a common frame of political values. The 'sense of community' is marked by feelings of mutual and distinctive identity and belongingness, sentiments supporting cohesion and solidarity, and commitments to the common welfare. Since the founding of the Republic we have affirmed that the American political community should be committed to freedom, equality, justice, popular consent, and personal obligation for the public good.

(2) The long-range constitutional order: The actual operation as well as the formal and informal structure of the basic institutions (legislative, executive, judicial, bureaucratic), the norms, and rules by which political demands and interests are aggregated, regulated, and channelled into authoritative

decisions. The political process (composed of parties, lobbying, negotiating, and compromising) is vastly more complicated in a moddern technological society than it was 200 years ago.

(3) The day-to-day governing authorities: The temporary occupants of offices of authority, ranging from those who have broad discretion in decision-making in their conduct of governmental agencies (president, legislators, judges) to those who have a narrower range of discretion in bureaucracies and the public service. These obviously vary greatly in the extent to which they exemplify or fail to live up to the values proclaimed by the political community and the principles underlying the constitutional regime.

B. The Educational Program

An efficacious civic education in the schools will include not only the curriculum, classroom teaching and learning, but will embrace the whole educational system, its organization and administration, its activities and school government, its 'hidden curriculum,' and its relation to the community and to the other agencies concerned with civic education. It will not only exemplify democratic political values and impart valid and realistic knowledge but also teach the skills of political participation:

(1) Political values are the sets of attitudes, feelings, beliefs, and commitments that contribute to the support of the political system. Without such support no political system can maintain itself without educating each generation appropriately through the processes of 'political socialization.' All modern nations have made great use of the schools as prime vehicles of civic education.

(2) Political knowledge includes the various ways in which systematic information is transmitted through reading, thinking, inquiry, discussion, and

the non-verbal media of communication. Social scientists like to speak of the 'disciplines of knowledge;' psychologists speak of 'cognitive skills.' In either case the knowledge should be based upon the most rigorous, critical, analytical, and realistic processes available to modern scholarship, what my late colleague Lyman Bryson called 'significant truth rather than plausible falsehood or beguiling half-truth.'

(3) Political participation includes the teaching and learning of practical skills of political behavior through realistic involvement of students in exerting influence in the public affairs of the society as well as in the governing of the schools themselves. This goes far beyond simply learning how to vote or to get out the vote but involves first hand practice in the arts of negotiation, compromise, aggregating power, decision-making, and holding others as well as oneself accountable for the consequences of decisions made and power exerted.

C. The School Population

An efficacious civic education will take full account of the total range of students to be served, their different cultural backgrounds, socio-economic statuses, ethnic and racial identities, and learning styles:

(1) The College-bound: Despite gains for equality of educational opportunity there remains a high relationship between socio-economic status and those students who expect or intend to go to college.

(2) The Non-College-bound: Political values, knowledge, and participation of working class youth have often been quite different from those of professional or middle class youth.

(3) The 'Unincorporated:' Those who for one reason or another have been blocked from access to the mainstream of American political and social life, the disadvantaged minorities, the blacks, and the continuing poor."

"In the best of times this is no easy task. It is doubly difficult -- and important -- at the present time when so many citizens have lost confidence in the integrity, authority, and efficacy of public persons and governmental institutions, and when so many youth believe that our institutions do not practice what we preach or what our schools teach.

The shortcomings of most civic education in the schools have been aptly appraised by the Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education of the American Political Science Association:

> (It) transmits a naive, unrealistic, and romanticized image of political life which confuses the ideals of democracy with the realities of politics....
>
> In summary, the majority of civics and government curriculum materials currently in use at all grade levels either completely ignore or inadequately treat not only such traditionally important political science concepts as freedom, sovereignty, consensus, authority, class, compromise, and power but also newer concepts such as role, socialization, culture, system, decision making, etc.
>
> On the positive side, there has been an upsurge of effort to focus the civic instruction of the schools upon problems of civil rights of ethnic minorities, women, and youth, the basic concepts of law and justice, the Constitution and Bill of Rights, and the realities of the political process.

Fortunately elementary and secondary school educators are beginning to think seriously about citizenship education again. And they are beginning to do something about it. Two aspects of the renewal of interest in civic education are especially impressive to me.

In the 1970s, projects under the heading of 'law-related education' have been snowballing under the assiduous leadership of several new organizations and

old foundations which have been encouraging the joint efforts of social science scholars, practicing teachers, and representatives of the legal, justice, and education professions.

I have been especially impressed by the project on Law in a Free Society (Santa Monica, California), which is drawing up lesson plans, case books, course outlines, and teachers' guides on eight basic concepts that should pervade a comprehensive curriculum in civic education from kindergarten through the twelfth grade: authority, justice, freedom, participation, responsibility, privacy, diversity, and property. These fundamental ideas necessary for the understanding of a liberal polity should be the core of study in a liberal civic education. Such concepts could fruitfully bring to life the values, the knowledge, and the practice in real-life experiences that must go together in an efficacious civic education.

Another pedagogical movement that has gained widespread attention among professionals as well as the public has been the renewed interest in the 'teaching of values.' Of special significance for civic education is the work pioneered by Lawrence Kohlberg at Harvard and now being applied to civic education programs in schools in the Boston area under the direction of Kohlberg and Ralph Mosher of Boston University and their colleagues and in the Pittsburgh area under the direction of Edwin Fenton of Carnegie-Mellon. The work, based on a theory of six stages of moral/cognitive development, has caused considerable stir in psychological and philosophical circles.

The Kohlberg theory and experimentation over several years argue that the most effective teaching of values can be undertaken by direct confrontation of moral decisions in open discussions between teachers and students. Such a process, conducted in the setting of a just school community, will move students from lower levels to higher stages of development.

So if there is anything to the Kohlberg approach, and I think there is a great deal to it, it means that if the vast majority of American youths are ever to reach the higher stages, then a liberal education should not neglect the deliberate effort to develop a civic morality among all high school and college students. Not simply 'clarifying one's values,' not simply acquiring a breadth of political knowledge, not simply acquaintance with the history and structure of government in the past. If we are to continue to have mass secondary and higher education, and I think we must, there should be a common civic core to it. If we are to continue to have a democratic political community, the schools must give priority to their civic task.

We well know that didactic moral instruction and outward expressions of patriotism through pledges of allegiance, loyalty oaths, or flag salutes have lost their savor among academics. We well know, too, the danger of attempts to use the schools for self-serving patriotism, manipulative propaganda, or partisan politicization. Yet, somehow, the schools must promote a strengthened sense of the importance of civic morality and political integrity -- if you please, a revitalized civism devoted to the political virtues of constitutional self-government that have sustained us at our best, that we have ignored or desecrated at our worst.

In renewing a sense of political community, embodied above all in the Bill of Rights and successor amendments, a liberal civic education should help to build social cohesion without resort to coercion, without slavish adherence to a narrow party line, without succumbing to witch hunts against the deviant, without silencing the unorthodox, and without dwelling upon an ethnocentric preoccupation with American society to the neglect of the interdependence of the peoples of the world. A liberal civic education must rely upon scholarly knowledge and research without becoming bloodlessly intellectualized or rigidly circumscribed

by the arbitrary boundaries of the separate and specialized academic disciplines, and without degenerating into random discussions or enticing games. We must protect the rights of privacy without retreating into the privatism of purely personal experience as the norm of public morality.

In a desirably pluralistic society, civic education must honor cultural Pluribus but it must also strengthen political Unum. Somehow, civic education must promote and protect the right of all persons to hold a diversity of beliefs, but it must also develop a commitment to actions that uphold the common bonds of a free government as the surest guarantee of the very holding of a pluralism of beliefs. It must, in Jefferson's words, render 'the people the safe, as they are the ultimate, guardians of their own liberty.'

On a recent occasion I argued that after all we have been through as a nation in the past decade I should think we could now face frontally and frankly the proposition that American education does have a political role to perform in achieving our historic ideals of political community. Such a proposition may well be criticized from the conservative right as being an effort to impose leftist ideology. If so, let conservatives say candidly where they oppose equality (as Nathan Glazer has just done in Affirmative Discrimination). It may well be criticized from the radical left as merely imposition of middle-class capitalist values or simply as wishy-washy liberalism. If so, let radicals openly say where they oppose the constitutional freedoms and due process. It may well be criticized by empirical social scientists or socially neutral scholars on the grounds that schools cannot effect social change; schools simply follow the dictates of society. If so, let them say to what agencies they would entrust deliberate efforts to build and generate a sense of democratic political community.

I would argue that if the teaching profession of two to three million persons took seriously the authority of the enduring ideals, sentiments, and moral commitments of our historic political community at its best, as embodied in the constitutional regime and especially in the Bill of Rights, the schools and colleges of this country could mobilize the majority of people on behalf of putting into practice our professed democratic ideals. This could indeed amount to a basic social change. But it would take the combined efforts of liberals in the legal profession, the scholarly and public service professions, the reform-minded wings of the political parties, labor, and the media, the good citizen groups, the civil rights and civil liberties organizations, the students, and civic-minded women's and ethnic groups.

The challenge today is even more political and cultural than it is economic. The challenge is to achieve what we proclaim to be our historic political goals: freedom, equality, justice, and community.

The issue once again is what can and should the schools do to meet this challenge. No one argues that the schools can do it all or do it alone. What I am arguing is that the prime contribution of the schools is not to preach specific economic solutions favored by laissez-faire capitalism or revolutionary socialism; it is to enhance as far as possible the political capabilities of students to think and act as citizens who will support and improve the liberal political community, so that it will be the context within which the economic decisions will be made.

This leaves open for study such questions as whether in the future the economic system of the United States and of the world should tip in favor of capitalism or socialism, economic planning by government or free rein for the market system, state ownership or private ownership or mixed ownership of

essential industries, centralized control and regulation or decentralized autonomy or world-order coordination of economic affairs, hierarchical management by governmental or corporate bureaucracies or participatory decision making by worker-owners. All of these topics should be considered, studied, and discussed at appropriate levels in the schools and on the basis of the best scholarship obtainable, scholarship that ranges across the full spectrum from left to right. But what the schools should do above all is to try to build positive commitments in thought and action to the democratic values of the liberal political community and to the liberal political processes of the democratic constitutional order."

Phi Delta Kappan

Appendix 2

MAJOR COLLOQUIUM PAPER

"Education of the American Citizen: An Historical Critique," by Clarence J. Karier

EDUCATION OF THE AMERICAN CITIZEN: AN HISTORICAL CRITIQUE

Clarence J. Karier
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April 11, 1978

EDUCATION OF THE AMERICAN CITIZEN: AN HISTORICAL CRITIQUE

> Everything should therefore be brought into harmony with these natural tendencies, and that might well be if our three modes of education merely differed from one another; but what can be done when they conflict, when instead of training man for himself you try to train him for others? Harmony becomes impossible. Forced to combat either nature or society, you must make your choice between the man and the citizen, you cannot train both.
>
> ...Jean Jacques Rousseau[1]

Here, in the opening pages of his Emile, Rousseau touched on a problem which has toubled virtually every major social thinker in the history of western culture. Which is more important, the education of the person so as to fulfill his or her need for human development, or to educate the person to fulfill the needs of organized society? At times in the history of the West these goals would not be seen as incompatible. However, standing in the dawning light of the national state when national education lay just over the horizon, Rousseau, in the Emile, forced to choose between nature and society, chose nature. Later in the Social Contract and the Proposals for Polish Education, he chose society.

During an earlier era of Greek civilization this construction of the problem would appear strange. The Greek mind could no sooner conceive of the indiviudal standing outside of his or her community any more than it could conceive of the human being without a body. The problem, then, which Rousseau posed between being a man or a citizen was constructed somewhat differently for most Greek thinkers. The education of the person had to proceed within the polis. The central issue for the Greek mind was not that of choosing between the person and the community, but rather between the person and the

community as they existed against that which they potentially could be. The quest for excellence was fundamentally a part of Greek Paideia. Ultimately, as Plato argued in The Republic, there could be no conflict between the ideal aim of the individual and the ideal aim of the community. So, too, did Aristotle argue in the Politics, "...that the virtue of the good man is necessarily the same as the virtue of the citizen of the perfect state."[2] The Greek quest for human excellence always presumed a corresponding social excellence. The "good" man was, thus, the "good" citizen.

What then constituted the good man? What was virtue, and how was it to be achieved? Socrates, the teacher of Plato, argued that the characteristic which distinguishes man from other forms of life in nature was his ability to think and to know. Ultimately, he argued, knowledge was virtue. To know the truth would be to know the good and to really know the good would be to do the good. To know the truth and thus to do the good was the highest form of human excellence. The quest for truth in a perfect social order would, in itself, be a rather pleasant experience; however, the quest for truth in an imperfect social order was necessarily threatening to the stability of the existing order. Thus, Socrates was found guilty of corrupting the youth of Athens. Truth is corrupting of any social order built on pragmatic compromises with vested interests. True to his educational ideal, Socrates took the hemlock. By fulfilling the demands of society and taking the required hemlock, he gave dramatic witness to a fundamental problem of Western culture, a problem which has been reenacted in one historic age after another in a variety of forms.

Thus, standing in the midst of the declining power of the Medieval Church and the rising tide of the modern state, Jean Jacques Rousseau once again raised the question of loyalty in his Emile. In the end, however, he decided, as he did in the Social Contract, that men can be forced to be free. While

some followed in the footsteps of Rousseau and argued for the unlimited power of the state to shape its citizens as Rousseau had done in his recommendations for Polish education, others were more concerned with the limits of such state actions.

Because of the fundamental nature of this question, the first section of this essay will analyze both the theoretical, practical relationships involving the role of the individual and the role of the state as it began to unfold in one of the first national systems of education in Prussian Germany. We will then consider the opposing views of Johann Gottlieb Fichte and Wilhelm von Humboldt with respect to this problem. Our analysis will turn next to the education of the American citizen as it began to emerge in both the early national period and the later nineteenth century movement to establish common schools. In this area our analysis will focus heavily on the ideas of Thomas Jefferson and Horace Mann. The following section will focus on transcendentalist thought with respect to the individual and the state, relying heavily on the ideas of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau. We will then turn to an analysis of some of the key tenets of classical liberalism and the nineteenth century political economy which undergirded those views. The next section will consider the changes in the American political economy from 1890-1920 and the reconstruction in philosophy, psychology and education which ensued. We will then sample three kinds of citizenship programs which have emerged in the 1930s and 1940s, and finally we will critically examine selected current trends in citizenship education.

II

The Prussian System

At noon on December 13, 1807, in an amphitheater of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, Johann Gottlieb Fichte began his series of fourteen Addresses to the German Nation. Thus, began a quiet revolution in Prussia which would, in time, come to have profound consequences, not only for Germany, but for all the world. Even while Fichte spoke, French soliders stood guard at the gates of the academy. Napoleon had just defeated the Prussian armies and had forced Prussia to accept the humiliating Treaty of Tilsit (1807) which compelled her to support an occupation army of 150,000 soliders and which limited her own standing army to 42,000 men. The spirit of a rising German nationalism hung heavy in the air as the cosmopolitan views of Lessing, Herder, Kant, or Geothe seemed to fade in the aftermath of war. Even Fichte had radically switched from his clearly cosmopolitan views in "The Charactersitics of the Present Age," (1804) to his extreme nationalistic position in the Addresses to the German Nation, (1807). The time had come for the birth of a new Germany. Within the decade Prussia would take the lead in moving from a feudal social system to a new national system. This was accomplished under the strenuous leadership of such men as Baron von Stein, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Fichte and Süvern. Timing was most important, as Fichte never ceased to remind his followers. Out of the medieval ashes would arise the conditions which would make possible the new order, the new modern state.

While historians have debated the immediate effects of Fichte's Addresses to the German Nation, some placing the entire blame for German nationalism on Fichte's "Addresses" and others negating his influence completely, it is perhaps safest to say that his "Addresses" charted the direction for a small, powerful governing liberal elite. In many respects he outlined the direction

the elite liberal leaders actually took. Under the leadership of Humboldt, Prussia developed and organized the first national system of education.[3] As Minister of Public Instruction, he was further responsible for the founding of the University of Berlin and the appointment of Fichte to the chair of philosophy. The reorganization of German education had profound consequences, as J. W. Burrow aptly put it, "If it was really the Prussian schoolmaster who defeated the French in 1870, it was Humboldt who licensed the schoolmaster."[4]

Under Humboldt, Prussia had moved ahead of most western nations in developing an efficient state-run educational system. That same leadership introduced and cultivated the development of Pestalozzian methods of education for the Volkschule. Horace Mann, after visiting these schools in 1843, ecstatically reported; "I never saw a child in tears, nor arraigned at the teacher's bar for any alleged misconduct."[5] German state education, from the Volkschule to the Gymnasium to the German University, had become the leading center of educational progress in the nineteenth century. Just why, however, was such an authoritarian, caste-oriented society as Prussia using the soft methods of Pestalozzi in their schools? The answer is to be found in Fichte's Addresses to the German Nation. There, in his analysis of the "New Education," Fichte makes the point that the only education that can fulfill the true destiny of the German people which has its roots deeply imbedded in the Teutonic soil is that education which makes a real difference. Only that education which not only teaches knowledge, skills and rational canons of persuasion, but that education which molds and shapes the emotions, the will and the very character of the individual would be satisfactory.

Crucial, here, is the fact that Fichte explicitly criticized the older education because it pointed out to the student the "right" course to take and earnestly exhorted him to take it. If he did not choose the "right" behavior, then it was assumed by the old-fashioned educator that the student

had acted on his own free will, and therefore, he alone was responsible. Fichte argued that the old education was at fault, here, for not paying enough attention to specific behavior and controlled outcomes. The assumption of free will on the part of the older educational system was seen as a fundamental error. In much the same vein as a modern twentieth century behaviorist psychologist, Fichte argued for the clear shaping of behavior, down to the point of eliminating freedom of choice in its entirety, when he said;

> Then, in order to define more clearly the new education which I propose, I should reply that that very recognition of, and reliance upon, free will in the pupil is the first mistake of the old system and the clear confession of its impotence and futility. For, by confessing that after all its most powerful efforts the will still remains free, that is, hesitating undecided between good and evil, it confesses that it is neither able, nor wishes, nor longs to fashion the will and (since the latter is the very root of man) man himself, and that it considers this altogether impossible. On the other hand, the new education must consist essentially in this, that it completely destroys freedom of will in the soil which it undertakes to cultivate, and produces on the contrary strict necessity in the decisions of the will the opposite being impossible. Such a will can henceforth be relied on with confidence and certainty.[6]

Thus, the total person must be shaped and molded, his or her personality fashioned and his or her "will" disciplined. The end was self development, in harmony with the development of the prefect state--a perfect state yet to be unfolded in the hearts and minds of the young. Freedom to be right in that development was the only true freedom. Freedom to be wrong was to fade away as the real and ideal became one. As Fichte earlier in "Characteristics of the Present Age" (1804) put it, "We do indeed desire freedom and we ought to desire it; but true freedom can be obtained only by means of the highest obedience to law."[7] For Fichte, the state was a positive actor with its own law and its own destiny to fulfill. Such a state, as it grows in strength, must equalize the status of its citizens. It must do so for the sole purpose of gaining and mobilizing the strength of all its citizens. As Fichte put it:

> A State which constantly seeks to increase its internal strength, is forced to desire the gradual abolition of all privileges and the establishment of equal rights for all men, in order that it, the State

> itself, may enter upon its true right, viz. to apply the whole surplus power of all its citizens, without exception, to the furtherance of its own purposes....[8]

Here, at the dawn of the modern German state, Fichte perceived an important tendency in western nation states, i.e., each attempt to equalize rights usually brought an extension of state power. From Fichte's perspective, this was ultimately all to the good. He believed the liberal state which he was fashioning would ultimately satisfy the needs for development of all its people. Crucial for this development was the need to educationally instill the kind of patriotism and loyalty whereby the individual would willingly lay down his life for his country.

National education, rightly conceived and effectively employed, would make every citizen a soldier and every soldier a citizen. As Fichte put it, "...the state posed by us, from the moment that a new generation of youths had passed through it, would need no special army at all, but would have in them an army such as no age has yet seen."[9] The educational blueprint which Fichte laid before the leadership of Prussia called for education of the total man and woman so as to prepare all for national service. Definitely opposed to a caste system, Fichte insisted on the fullest development of the talents of all, paying attention to the moral, intellectual, vocational and physical education of each citizen. Did the latter insistence on the equal opportunity of all to develop their talents to the fullest suggest a democratic ideal? Some have interpreted it as such. For example, Edward Reisner in Nationalism and Education: Since 1789, said,

> To educate every individual to his fullest possibilities in order that the state might enjoy the service of such unrestricted powers, --that was Fichte's extremely democratic ideal. Mingled with a strong patriotic element this democratic ideal seemed to be influential in the earliest revival of Prussian public education.[10]

The question of whether a particular practice in education is or is not democratic depends, it seems, on a prior question, i.e., to what social end

is the activity directed? One might recall that Fichte called for the extension of equal rights in order to extend the power of the state to achieve its "own purposes," and Reisner brings out that point when he said, "To educate every individual to his fullest possibilities that the state might enjoy the service of such unrestricted powers." The end, here, was not the individual but the state, indeed, one might more clearly say a totalitarian, educational state. This was Fichte's ideal which he and others sought to implement within German education.

It is striking that even while this ideal was propounded, and in many ways institutionalized in nineteenth century Prussian education, the man who appointed Fichte to his Chair in Philosophy at the University of Berlin, Wilhelm von Humboldt, had propounded an opposite ideal only a few years earlier in 1792. Upon retiring from active life at the age of 24 to cultivate his self development, Humboldt wrote a classic in western political theory called, The Limits of State Action.

In this remarkable essay, Humboldt clearly, concisely and prophetically sketched the damaging consequences of state authority and power for human freedom and human development. Combining the analytic strength of a Kant with a humanism of a Goethe, Humboldt proceeded to sketch his educational ideal. He first argued that the state, itself, has no transcendental existence or rights. It was merely a social contrivance to provide for some common good, a good rationally determined by individuals. Taking his basic tenets from Kant and the Greek classical tradition of culture, he argued that the ideal social system occurs when men and women cease to be means for other people's purposes and become ends in themselves. Furthermore, the ideal must hold out the full freedom for each to develop his talent for his or her own purposes. The true end of man is not to serve the immediate needs of the state but is to develop his talents and powers to their fullest harmonious development.

> The true end of Man, or that which is prescribed by the eternal and immutable dictates of reason, and not suggested by vague and transient desires, is the highest and most harmonious development of his powers to a complete and consistent whole. Freedom is the first and indispensible condition which the possibility of such a development presupposes; but there is besides another essential--intimately connected with freedom, it is true--a variety of situations.[11]

If man was to develop to his fullest, he needed freedom within a social environment that permits that development. The end, however, must always reamin human development. Security of the state and community must be maintained. It would be the duty of each citizen to fulfill those legitimate requirements of security. However, Humboldt put definite limits on these kinds of activities.

The state authority must be limited to protect the community from outside attacks and from very limited kinds of dangers to individual freedom which might arise within the community. All important was the need to recognize that the true end of man was human development and that very development rests on one's freedom to choose. Choice is important not only to sustain moral order but, indeed, human order. Choice which is coerced or even channeled by "instruction and guidance" inhibits and does not contribute to human freedom and development. "Whatever does not spring from a man's free choice, or is only the result of instruction and guidance, does not perform it with truly human energies, but merely with mechanical exactness."[12] J. W. Burrow recognized this as very close to what John Stuart Mill wrote some years later when he said, "One whose desires and impulses are not his own, has no character, no more than a steam-engine has a character."[13] The concept of the limited state, as explored by Humboldt, presupposes an ideal of human development which is possible only if and when the individual is free of state interference.

> I therefore deduce, as the natural inference from what has been argued, that reason cannot desire for man any other condition than that in which each individual not only enjoys the most absolute freedom of developing himself by his own energies, in his perfect individuality, but in which external nature itself is left unfashioned by any human agency, but only receives the impress given to

> it by each individual and of his own free will, according to the measure of his wants and instincts, and restricted only by the limits of his powers and his rights.
>
> From this principle it seems to me, that reason must never retract anything except what is absolutely necessary. It must therefore be the basis of every political system, and must especially constitute the starting-point of the inquiry which at present claims our attention.[14]

John Stuart Mill quoted directly from Humboldt: "The grand, leading principle, towards which every argument hitherto unfolded in these pages directly converges, is the absolute and essential importance of human development in its richest diversity."[15] The state, when it utilizes its powers to coerce, to direct or to guide destroys that possibility. While all can plainly see the negative use of law to coerce as clearly limiting human freedom, what is not so clear for many is the fact that the positive use of state power is also limiting of human freedom and ultimately is fundamentally destructive of human development. The positive state has inherent dangers for freedom and human development.

> It may endeavor, for instance, to secure its ends directly either by coercion or by the inducement of example and exhortation, or it may combine all these sources of influence in the attempt to shape the citizen's outward life, and forestall actions contrary to its intention; or, lastly, it may try to exercise a sway over his thoughts and feelings, so as to bring his inclinations, even, into conformity with its wishes. It is particular actions only that come under political supervision in the first of these cases; in the second, the general conduct of life; and, in the last instance, it is the very character of the citizen, his views, and modes of thought, which are brought under the influence of State control.[16]

Humboldt notes that the thrust of the positive state is not only security but the achievement of that security through the solicitude of the state for the positive welfare of its citizens. The positive state, in fact, is a welfare state. It is interesting that in 1791-92 when analyzing the progressive steps through which the state extends its authority over its citizenry, Humboldt virtually outlined the history of the American state. We will return to this proposition at a later point in the essay.

What, then, were the damaging effects of the positive-welfare state on human freedom and development? First, such a state "invariably produces

national uniformity, and a constrained and unnatural manner of acting."[17] Second, such a state with its positive institutions "...tend to weaken the vitality of the nation."[18] Third, such a state invariably destroys the inner aesthetic choice upon which work and occupations become artistic, human, creative contributions. Fourth,

> The solicitude of such a State for the positive welfare of its citizens, must further be harmful, in that it has to operate upon a promiscuous mass of individualities, and therefore does harm to these by measures which cannot meet individual cases.[19]

Finally, such a state "...hinders the development of Individuality."[20] The idea, then, of a national education was thus "very questionable." While Humboldt did not deny the beneficial effects of citizenship participation in the body politic, he insisted that it must be spontaneously arrived at, not contrived by state guidance or education. Humboldt rejected the notion that the state should shape its citizens. He believed there must always remain a dialectical relationship, indeed, an adversary relationship between man and the state if freedom is to survive. Citizenship education must always be limited. If man is to be free, he must maintain a dynamic interaction with the state as a free agent. As he put it,

> Now this interaction always diminishes to the extent that the citizen is trained from childhood to become a citizen. Certainly it is beneficial when the roles of man and citizen coincide as far as possible; but this only occurs when the role of citizen presupposes so few special qualities that the man may be himself without any sacrifice; which is the goal I have exclusively in mind in this inquiry.
>
> However, the fruitful relationship between man and citizen would wholly cease if the man were sacrificed to the citizen. For although the consequences of disharmony would be avoided, still the very object would be sacrificed which the association of human beings in a community was designed to secure. From which I conclude, that the freest development of human nature, directed as little as possible to citizenship, should always be regarded as of paramount importance.[21]

From Humboldt's standpoint as well as from John Stuart Mill's, the consequences of a national education which shaped the civic character of its citizens was clearly destructive of the first condition upon which human development rested,

i.e., "human liberty."[22] Henry David Thoreau later amplified this ideal when he said; "That government is best which governs least,..." and "That government is best which governs not at all; and when men are prepared for it, that will be the kind of government which they will have."[23] At Walden Pond, Thoreau, too, was trying to discover the legitimate limits of organized society on individual freedom. Humboldt, in a similar vein, was attempting to thoughtfully assess the limits of state action which were consonant with human freedom and development. Mill, Humboldt and Emerson would agree with Thoreau, when standing in the midst of much nationalistic fervor, he advised his fellow countrymen that they "...should be men first, and subjects afterwards. It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right."[24]

This was Humboldt's ideal. No one in Prussian Germany up to that time had so clearly and succinctly laid out the dangers and hazards of the progressive extension of state power. To be sure, Mill and others later followed suit, but it was Humboldt who first had cut the intellectual path. Ironically, it was Humboldt some years later as Minister of Public Instruction who implemented Fichte's educational state ideas.

During the period 1809-1810 Humboldt instituted the major educational reforms which created in Prussia the first real state controlled and financed national system of education in the West. State training and certification of teachers was instituted. C. A. Zeller, a disciple of Pestalozzi, was appointed head of the new Normal School at Königsberg. Compulsory school attendance edicts were promulgated as the financial support of public schools was put on a sound footing. Efficient administrative machinery for public inspection and control of the schools was created. Under Humboldt's ministry the Gynasium curriculum was reorganized; Süvern developed a proposal for a single track ladder system of education for Prussia, (rejected in 1819) and finally the University of Berlin was founded and Fichte was appointed to the Chair of Philosophy.[25]

J.A.R. Marriott and Charles Grant Robertson in The Evolution of Prussia are persuasive when they claim that what Scharnhorst did for military reform, Humboldt did for German education. They point out, too, the irony in the fact that it was Humboldt who literally instituted Fichte's educational ideas.[26] One might further note that if it is the case that behind the success of Bismarck's victory over France in 1870 stood the Prussian schoolmaster who had been licensed by Humboldt, it is even more true that behind the progressive paternalism of the Bismarckian state, a state which many Wisconsin progressives at the turn of the centruy adopted as their model, stood that same schoolmaster. As Germany became the educational showplace for nineteenth century America, the contradiction between what Humboldt had said in Limits of State Action, 1792, and what he did as Minister of Public Instruction 1808-1810 remained an enigma. In theory, Humboldt had laid the intellectual foundation for the classical liberalism which John Stuart Mill and others developed. Such a theory defined freedom. a prerequisite for human development, in terms of freedom from state interference. In action, however, Humboldt helped create the educational state which used its power to shape the character of its citizenry in the name of human development. The positive state which emerged was the Fichtean state, a state which carried all the essential ingredients of what became known in the twentieth century as a totalitarian state.

Just how might Humboldt have explained this contradiction? In the closing chapter of his essay on the Limits of State Action, he discussed the practical application of his theory. Pointing to the fact that there are many true ideas which wise men would never attempt to put in practice,[27] Humboldt insisted that even though his theory about freedom of the individual and the state was true, by necessity it could not be immediately implemented. Why? Because men were not yet able to receive the freedom which the theory suggests.[28] Social upheaval had to be avoided. Freedom must gradually be extended in such a way

that, "...no one at any time, or in any way, obtain a right to dispose of the powers or goods of another without his consent or against his will."[29] The theory logically requires the extension of freedom while practical "reality" requires coercion. When one observes the condition of humanity in the real world, Humboldt surmised,

> ...man is more disposed to domination then freedom; and a structure of dominion not only gladdens the eye of the master who rears and protects it, but even its servants are uplifted by the thought that they are members of a whole, which rise high above the life and strength of single generations.[30]

Before the century was over, Dostoevski's grand inquisitor would make a similar estimate of the human condition when he, too, made the claim that what the mass of mankind really needed for their happiness was not freedom but "miracle, mystery and authority."

Built into Humboldt's theory were at least three ways which could permit him to change his position with relative ease from a classical liberal position to a new liberal position, and then to a totalitarian position. First, the threat to state security from outside forces could always warrant the expansion of state powers. Secondly, the very clear distinction between theory and practice or the ideal and actuality also allowed for state intervention. This was the case because the base line of social justice was interpreted by Humboldt as that distribution of property which existed. In case of a revolution which threatened the ownership of property state power could be expanded. Lastly, it was clear that in the end it was Humboldt, the aristocrat under the guise of the state, who paternalistically doled out freedom to the masses only when and if those masses behaved themselves. In practice, it was not the individual limiting his freedom to act by voluntarily giving up his power to the state, but rather it was the state giving the individual freedom only when he proved himself ready for it. In actuality, the power relationship was the opposite of his theory.

Humboldt and Fichte, at the conception of German national education, had worked out in their thinking and acting, some of the basic tenets of classical liberal, progressive liberal, and totalitarian theory. Each view has, at one time or another, tended to occupy the center stage of American history. The relationship between the state and the individual throughout American history has not been static, lending itself to easy generalization. From the intellectual origins of the constitutional system there has remained a dynamic tension which presupposes the individual being is free of the state authority in any absolute sense. However, at various times, especially during times of threat, state authority has been radically increased, while during periods of relative security, state authority has been allowed to wane. Over the 200 years of American constitutional history, however, state authority has grown far out of proportion to anything which the constitutional founders would have dreamed. During this corresponding period, some very limited steps toward greater degrees of equality have been taken by certain individuals, classes and groups. Equalization from the standpoint of state instituted homogenization should not be confused with the growth or decline of freedom on the part of the individual in relation to the state. In the latter case, individual freedom in relationship to the state in twentieth century America declined appreciably.

In many ways the nineteenth century may be characterized as democratic, while the twentieth century is best characterized as totalitarian. Throughout this essay I am using the word totalitarian as that condition under which the state ultimately has power and control over the total life of the individual. The terms democratic and totalitarian are relatively descriptive and should not be taken in this discussion in any absolute sense. The term totalitarian, as used here, should therefore be taken as a bench mark, a point toward which we are more or less approaching. The totalitarian person in the twentieth century is a public person, flexible, with few deeply held convictions, capable of

adjusting quickly and easily to the conditions which surround his life. The private life of such a person is minimal and his public life is structured by a prescribed set of alternatives. In such a condition the growing power of the state is evidenced by the extent to which the bureaucratic machinery of government exercises control in shaping not only the legal and political views of its citizens, but also the total life of the individual, i.e., his personality, his moral character, his feelings as well as his will to behave. The totalitarian person, in this respect, is a Fichtean-Spartan who ultimately loses his freedom to be wrong. The Spartan ideal of citizenship was perhaps no better put then when Rousseau, in the Emile, recounted the story of a Spartan mother who just lost her sons in battle:

> A Spartan mother had five sons with the army. A Helot arrived; trembling she asked his news. 'Your five sons are slain.' 'Vile slave, was that what I asked thee?' 'We have won the victory,' She hastened to the temple to render thanks to the gods. That was a citizen.[31]

The dialectical tension which existed between the Athenian ideal of Humboldt as expressed in Limits of State Action and the Spartan ideal as expressed in Fichte's Addresses to the German Nation delineates the intellectual parameters through which much of the education of the American citizen will be historically analyzed.

III

The American System

The American colonialists who convened in the hot summer of 1787 to write the Constitution of the United States did so after a series of frustrating years of experience under the government of the Articles of Confederation. For those political and economic leaders who met in the Constitutional Convention, the government, under the Articles, was clearly inadequate. It failed to make possible what Humboldt spoke of as "social justice." Private property and the developing commercial interests were not well protected. The use of the state power to protect commercial interests was not new to the colonialist. Under English rule they had a long experience with the merchant state. The revolution against that rule which had occurred was not a revolution against the idea of the merchant-state, but rather a revolution against particular kinds of restrictions which would inhibit commercial development in the colonies. With that kind of experience behind them, it was understandable why the colonies were reluctant to extend power to a central government. Only after the threat of a social-economic revolution had occurred in the form of Shay's Rebellion (1786) did they begin to fashion a stronger national government. Throughout the new national period there existed a continuing distrust of centralized national power and authority. The individual was viewed as a creature of God, governed by natural laws and rights. Government was most often perceived as a necessary expedient, limited to function only within the realm of delegated authority. The Constitution, with its principle of separation of powers, and the federal system, with the division of powers between the state and federal system, attest to this sense of limited authority.

Even here, however, for some the creation of a federal government was too much. Upon returning from his ambassadorship in Paris in 1789, Thomas Jefferson

characterized the accomplishments of the Constitutional Convention as the work of a "den of demagogues." The principles of the Declaration of Independence which emphasized man's rights, he believed, had been blocked by the creation of a new federal authority.[32] Opposition to the Constitution was so strong that it took a tacit agreement on the part of its proponents to support a series of amendments which would explicitly protect the individual citizen against the newly delegated powers of the federal government. Thus, the first Ten Amendments were created and passed within a short time after the Constitution went into effect. Jefferson's opposition to the expansion of federal power came from his belief that ultimately the individual's freedom is best protected by,

> . . .making himself the depository of the powers respecting himself, so far as he is competent to them, and delegating only what is beyond his competence, by a synthetical process, to higher and higher orders of functionaries, so as to trust fewer and fewer powers in proportion as the trustees become more and more oligarchical.[33]

Sovereignty rested with the people. For Jefferson, government was a necessary expedient which was created by the people to protect their rights from both external and internal threat. Government authority was to be used to provide the minimal condition under which human freedom might be exercised. Jefferson's ideal man was a free landed yeoman. He knew that one of the key factors which incited the revolution was the English restrictions on land development in the West; he also believed that American historical destiny, at least for the next century, was going to be tied to land speculation in the West. He feared the age of industrialization which would bring great cities in its train, as he put it; "The mobs of great cities add just so much to the support of pure government, as sores do to the strength of the human body."[34] Jefferson was in touch with some of the key developments of his age. He knew the significance of the workplace in the education of men and women but he clearly missed the early beginnings of a

generating force which was to profoundly shape his country's future, i.e., industrialization. He believed a sound democratic republic could survive only if it remained agrarian, where the individual might remain free.

Although it is the case that Jefferson did not argue for a national system of education and the Constitution does not mention the word education, thus reserving the power of education to the states or the people by virtue of the Tenth Amendment, it also is the case that in a broader sense Jefferson tied the idea of a democratic republic with the idea of education. For Jefferson the idea of education for all people, except blacks,[35] was the key to the survival of the republic. Two things were essential: freedom of the press and a free education. The citizen must have free access of information and he must have the education which makes it possible to interpret that information and act upon it, as he said, "Where the press is free and every man able to read, all is safe."[36] The citizen must be educated so as to ". . .recognize tyranny and be able to revolt against it." Jefferson was a revolutionary who believed that "The tree of liberty must be watered from time to time with the blood of tyrannts."[37] The right of the citizen to take up arms against his government, if and when that government became tyrannical, was a well established principle with all the constitutional framers.

Jefferson also believed that every generation must write its own Constitution. What kind of education was necessary to prepare people to recognize tyranny and be able to revolt against it? In his "Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge," (1779) Jefferson called for the creation of a public system of schools[38] in Virginia. The system which he proposed provided schooling at public expense for all free children, male and female residents ". . .within a district for a term of three years." Beyond that, a limited number of the best were to be "raked from the rubbish annually" to go on at public expense to a classical secondary school and then on to the university. Those who could afford it could

attend whatever school they chose. The teacher in the district schools were to be inspected for competency and expected to take a loyalty oath to the commonwealth.[39] What kind of curriculum did Jefferson propose? It was essentially a reading, writing and arithmetic curriculum with a didactic history of the roots of the new nation. In Jefferson's view, literacy, arithmetic and history taught by loyal teachers for three years was sufficient for basic citizenship education in order to recognize tyranny and be able to revolt against it. In retrospect, this seems naive, indeed, but something is left out. Jefferson's educational views were primarily directed at the citizen obtaining the necessary skills by which he could interpret information and recognize his own self interest. It presumed that once the citizen had these skills he would develop and grow as a free person as he participated in the community. This education placed the emphasis not on specific behavior but on the prior conditions, the tools by which the individual exercises his choice, his freedom.

There were limits however. The loyalty oaths for teachers were one example of such a limit, another example was Jefferson's over-ordinate concern for the ideological nature of the textbook which was to be used in his favorite subject, political science, at his favorite institution of higher learning, the University of Virginia.[40] In a letter to Joseph C. Cabell (1825) he cautioned about the attractiveness of possible "heresies being taught" which ran counter to the interest of the State of Virginia and the United States.[41] Jefferson's concerns, here, seem similar to much of the twentieth century concerns of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the American Legion in regard to their fears about the teaching of communism as a "viable" alternative. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, at his own University of Virginia, Jefferson argued that knowledge must be controlled so as to protect the interest of the state. He was not saying then, as he had earlier in "Bill for Establishing Freedom;"

> . . .that truth is great and will prevail if left to herself; that she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict unless by human interposition disarmed of her weapons, free argument and debate; errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them.[42]

Jefferson had clearly reached the point in his thinking of conceiving of the security of the secular state as more important than the security of the religious state, or Church. Freedom in religious matters should be exercised more fully. In such matters truth should be left to find its own course. Freedom in political matters, however, was not quite the same. The very term "heresy" was now used by Jefferson in terms of the state rather than in terms of religion.

Treason would be defined as an overt act against the United States in the presence of two witnesses. The death penalty would be exercised by the state against those who would commit treason. It should be clear that in the secular state of the twentieth century punishment of the religious heretic is unacceptable, while punishment of the political heretic is quite acceptable. We have not, in this sense, extended our freedom, but merely changed our loyalties. Jefferson's remarks, here, are pivotal because they indeed reflect the beginnings of the rising tide of the secular state and its loyalty requirements. Jefferson's "Bill for Diffusion of Knowledge" is important not because it was instituted, in fact it was rejected, but because it reflects what Jefferson as a knowledgeable, influential leader of his times thought was the role of the state in the education of the citizen.

While there were various reasons for the rejection of Jefferson's proposal, it should be understood that the tradition of private tutorial training of the elite, nourished and sustained by a slave culture, a culture which Jefferson still supported to the end, albiet, reluctantly,[43] stood in the way of the development of a public system of education in Virginia and much of the South. This was, of course, not the case for New England, the Middle States, and the

newly emerging territories. In these areas the pattern of public schooling gradually emerged and by the third decade of the nineteenth century was fairly well established. Aside from the South, state laws were passed which exercised not only the right of the state to support schools, but to control them as public institutions. Public school as a form of education emerged in the first half of the nineteenth century.

What, then, was taught in these community schools emerging into public status? With respect to approach, they were primarily didactic, emphasizing the three r's with a heavy slant toward moral and social values. The strong feelings of nationalism were reflected in the school curriculum as America emerged in this period as a new nation. Alongside the Bible and the Lord's Prayer came the patriotic, symbolic practices designed to produce loyalty. Even the children's readers changed; for example, R. Freeman Butts' study of the New England Primer over the period from 1702 through 1825 was illustrative. The one couplet which remained constant was "In Adam's Fall we sinned all." Other couplets clearly reflected the rising influence of the nationalistic fervor in the schools. For example, in the 1727 Primer one could read, "Our King the good No man of Blood," In 1791 that couplet was changed to read "Kings should be good Not Men of blood." and in 1797, "The British King lost States thirteen." As the nationalistic fervor mounted, that couplet was changed in 1819 to read "Kings and Queens Lie in the dust," and finally in 1825 to "Queens and Kings are gaudy things." As Butts correctly notes, we had moved from a God to demos when the couplet "Whales in the Sea God's voice obey" was replaced in 1800 with "Great Washington brave his country did save."[44]

The key curricular instruments of nineteenth and twentieth centuries were textbooks. However, they were even more important for early nineteenth century. Before the graded school concept emerged, one determined one's place in school by the book he or she was reading. Each of these books, in a variety of ways,

didactically set forth series of values which reflected the major interests and mores of the larger culture.[45] For example, if one read Noah Webster's Blueback Speller, one learned that "idleness will bring thee to poverty; but by industry and Prudence thou shalt be filled with bread." Discipline, too, was important, as one reads further, "The rod and re-proof give wisdom; but a child left to himself bringeth his parents to shame." Within that same spelling book could be found advice with respect to social-sexual relations. For example, under the caption "Advise to young men," one can read,

> Is a woman devoted to dress and amusement? Is she delighted with her own beauty? Is she given to much talking and loud laughter? If her feet abide not at home, and her eyes rove with boldness on the faces of men - turn thy feet from her, and suffer not thy heart to be ensnared by thy fancy.

If one turns the page, one could read, "Advice to young women:"

> Listen to no soft pursuasion, till a long acquaintance and a steady, respectful conduct have given thee proof of the pure attachment and honourable views of thy lover. Is thy suitor addicted to low vices? is he profane? is he a gambler? a tipler? a spendthrift? a haunter of taverns? has he lived in idleness and pleasure? has he acquired a contempt for thy sex in vile company? and above all, is he a scoffer at religion? Banish such a man from thy presence, his heart is false, and his hand would lead thee to wretchedness and ruin.[46]

Noah Webster clearly intended to teach more than spelling. The values of the age were imbedded in the textbooks as well as in the teacher's manuals.

Barbara Berman's comprehensive analysis of the major teaching manuals for the nineteenth century Common School,[47] shows that the central values were those which place a high degree of emphasis on social-economic conformity and loyalty to a practicality-oriented business kind of culture. In 1887, A. C. Mason perhaps best characterized this thrust of the common school when he said,

> A school is a business institution created for specific purposes. It should be conducted in all of its management upon the principles of business. Its business is to assist, as being one of the many corporations created and fostered by the state, in increasing the wealth by increasing the productive power of the state. . . .Intelligent economy does not require that our system cost less, but that it produce more. . . .To keep the imp of mischief away, put the angel of business on guard.[48]

Whether one looks at the textbooks the students were using in the common school, the teacher's manuals that were used in directing the teacher's efforts, the recollections of adults about their "school days," or the variety of public statements by leading educational reformers of the day, the common school did not so much emphasize intellectual virtue as it did conforming social and economic values. Daniel Webster defined public education as a "wise and liberal system of police, by which property, and life, and the peace of society are secured."[49]

The Common School Reform Movement, (1839-1848) led by Horace Mann, took as its central focus, the teaching of the common values of American society. Reacting to the social, religious, ethnic and economic conflict of the times, Mann effectively argued for school reform and the extension of state authority in education. Universal public education, he argued, could Americanize the new Catholic, Irish immigrant who had been under-selling and displacing native laborers. In so doing, social peace might be secured,

> Education, then, beyond all other devices of human origin, is the great equalizer of the conditions of men - the balance-wheel of the social machinery. I do not here mean that it so elevates the social nature as to make men disdain and abhor the oppression of their fellow-men. This idea pertains to another of its attributes. But I mean that it gives each man the independence and the means, by which he can resist the selfishness of other men. It does better than to disarm the poor of their hostility towards the rich; it prevents being poor.[50]

Mann believed education would become the social safety valve of the American nation. He rejected the revolutionary notion that "some people are poor <u>because</u> others are rich."[51] The point, he argued, was not to redistribute the wealth, but allow the poor to become property owners, participate in the economy by becoming educated and gain the ability, thereby, to increase their wealth. The solution for the maldistribution of wealth was not to redistribute it, but to create the conditions which would increase it. An expanding gross national product stimulated by education, he surmised, would prevent social revolution. Horace Mann, in his twelfth <u>Annual Report</u> (1848) had succintly

analyzed the social-economic rationale by which propertied interest would come to support public education throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Public education could thus protect property against the possibility of social upheaval.

From John Locke's standpoint, this was the first major function of the state. A second function would be to protect one's liberties. This Mann believed was to be achieved by teaching the new immigrants to become American citizens,[52] by teaching not only patriotic history, but to teach about the political structure of the new constitutional system. Care had to be taken, Mann pointed out that while constitutional principles were to be taught "political proselytism" ought not become the function of the school.[53] The common school was to be a school which taught the common elements of American culture, the common political, moral and economic principles with which all could agree. The school might then provide the common ground, the "balance wheel," the steadying influence which could help unify a community which had so clearly been fractured by the influx of the Irish immigrants.

The idea of the common school developed by Mann carried with it the idea that the one primary function of the school was to produce a common citizen. Just how were the common features of that citizenship to be determined? They were to be determined on the basis of community agreement. Mann argued that the school ought to teach only those political principles upon which the community agrees and not treat those issues which divide the community. Controversial issues were not to be treated in the school. Common school teachers must avoid controversial issues, as Mann pointed out,

> But when the teacher, in the course of his lessons or lectures on fundamental law, arrives at a controverted text, he is either to read it without comment or remark; or, at most, he is only to say that the passage is the subject of disputation, and that the schoolroom is neither the tribunal to adjudicate, nor the forum to discuss it.[54]

The function of the common school was to serve as an instrument of the community, teaching only those principles upon which all collectively agreed. The role of the school was so prescribed.

Mann took essentially the same stand, with regard to moral and religious education as he took with political education. A common morality, based on the common elements of all religions was to be inculcated. Just what text was to be used to teach that common religion and how was it to be taught without producing conflict? The answer was the Bible. The King James version of the New Testament was to be read daily. It was to be read without comment. Religious conflict, he believed, could thus be avoided. Of course it was not. Bible reading was, itself, a Protestant practice using a Protestant Bible.[55] When one reviews the actual common school reading texts of the nineteenth century, it becomes clear that explicit anti-Roman Catholic material was being used. The common moral basis of the common school was basically white, Protestant and Anglo-Saxon. The emergence of the private, parochial system of Church related schools developed in the nineteenth century primarily as a reaction to this kind of common school socialization.

In the area of political education of the American citizen the thrust of the common school practice tended to emphasize patriotic history including knowledge about the constitutional system. Much of the instruction was didactic, highly moralistic, exhorting the child to behave according to the practical temper of the community.

In many ways, the education of the citizen in relationship to the state was a limited education. It was limited not only by eliminating controversial issues from the schools, but also by the overall perspective of the educated citizen whose view of the educational function of the state was limited by a classical educational ideal which even as a remnant served as a counter conception to the

growing educational power of the state. This remnant, at its best saw human development, as contrasted to state development, as the ultimate end. The classical educational ideal of the orator, the courtier, the well-rounded man, the gentleman and the liberally educated person was aimed at the creation of a free person.

Even though throughout the history of the West that ideal was adjusted and compromised to make way for the political realities of power wielded by the Church or the state, it still served, at times, to check the absolute authority of each. One might further note that not only the classical tradition, but the Judeo-Christian religious tradition, at times, has tended to serve as a check on the growth of the notion that the state is or should be absolute. Both traditions have served to do so not only by offering competing alternative institutional loyalties as well as competing alternative ultimate ends for existence, but more importantly, both provided the ideological infrastructures which undergirded the idea of a free person. Central to both was a conception of human nature which assumed a mind body dualism. A strong case can be made that much of the intellectual basis of freedom in the western tradition rested on a dualism which permeated the classical Judeo-Christian conception of human nature and the social order. It is not an accident that with the rise of the compulsory state in the twentieth century not only the institutional power of classical Judeo-Christians fell into a steep decline, but the ideological expression of that view of life was challenged and effectively discarded by the dominant educational philosophers and reformers of the twentieth century.

In the nineteenth century, then, the notion of limited state action was very much alive. A caveat should be entered here. This idea of "limits" is relative to what took place in the twentieth century, i.e., America never did have a truly laissez-faire political economy. The American government as it functioned from the very constitutional beginnings was a merchant state which

employed its power to enhance certain kinds of economic development. The history of western land speculation, railroad subsidies, as well as tariff policies attest to this phenomena. What we are discussing, then, is a conception of state that had some characteristics of a Humboldt ideal. These characteristics were progressively eroded away and replaced in the twentieth century by a more Fichtean ideal. The ideal of the individual as an independent, free man, in juxtaposition to state government, remained alive in the nineteenth century. That ideal was repeatedly expressed by the transcendentalist thinkers.

IV

The Transcendentalists

Emerson, Thoreau and other nineteenth century transcendentalists projected a view of man in relationship to society and government as fundamentally similar to that which Humboldt had delineated. Just as Humboldt pointed out that the actions of government ought to be kept to a minimum because every action taken subtracts from man's freedom, which in turn reduces his chance to develop himself, so too, Emerson, in his oft quoted essay on "Self-Reliance," argued,

> Society everywhere is in conspiracy against the manhood of every one of its members. Society is a joint-stock company, in which the members agree, for the better securing of his bread to each shareholder, to surrender the liberty and culture of the eater. The virtue in most request is conformity. Self-reliance is its aversion. It loves not realities and creators but names and customs. Whoso would be a man, must be a nonconformist. He who would gather immortal palms must not be hindered by the name of goodness but must explore if it be goodness. Nothing is at last sacred but the integrity of your own mind.[56]

The transcendentalists repeatedly warned mankind of the hazardous course of the developing industrial age. While in one sense, Thoreau warned that "men have nothing to fear but fear itself," he also warned that the next age must fear "the age of the organization man." Government and social institutions were expedients. The most important value was that which respected the integrity of human life. The key, here, was freedom to be, to develop, to become a person. "Be a man first and a citizen only in one's twilight hours." Men became enslaved not only by other men, but by things. In such a fashion they enslave themselves. Thoreau's search for freedom carried him to Walden Pond where he explored the shackles that he, himself, society, and things had forged on his soul. Thoreau and Emerson, as many twentieth century existentalists, looked into the depths of their souls and found an individual basis of freedom.

Ultimately the individual chooses to conform to society. He or she can choose in those same terms not to conform. Mohandas K. Gandhi once said that

the greatest American literacy classic ever written was Thoreau's "Civil Disobedience." Thoreau recognized, as Jefferson had realized, that no state should be allowed the spurious and dangerous unconditional loyalty of its citizens. Revolution, indeed bloody revolution, must be kept an open option if men are to be kept free. The individual must always stand ready to resist the state. As Jefferson put it in 1787, in a letter to William S. Smith; "What country can preserve its liberties if its rulers are not warned from time to time that this people preserve the spirit of resistance?"[57] And Thoreau argued, the citizen's first priority must be to be true to one's self. The good citizen was not the man or woman who dutifully followed the majority rule, but rather the man or woman who followed his or her conscience. "I think that we should be men first, and subjects afterwards. It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right."[58] Thoreau's view that the first duty of a citizen is to respect "the right" reverberated in the lives of such twentieth century leaders as Gandhi and Martin Luther King. Thoreau pointed out that the really "good" citizen is not the one who blindly says my country right or wrong, but rather is the citizen who has both the will and courage to resist the state when it is wrong. One cannot help but reflect on the Eichmann and Mylai trials when one reads:

> Visit the Navy-Yard, and behold a marine, such a man as an American government can make, or such as it can make a man with its black arts - a mere shadow and reminiscence of humanity, a man laid out alive and standing, and already, as one may say, buried under arms with funeral accompaniments, though it may be, -
>
> "Not a drum was heard, not a funeral note,
> As his corse to the rampart we hurried;
> Not a soldier discharged his farewell shot
> O'er the grave where our hero was buried."
>
> The mass of men serve the state thus, not as men mainly, but as machines, with their bodies. They are the standing army, and the militia, jailers, constables, *posse comitatus*, etc. In most cases there is no free exercise whatever of the judgment or of the moral sense; but they put themselves on a level with wood and earth and stones; and wooden men can perhaps be manufactured that will serve the purpose as well. Such command no more respect than men of straw or a lump of dirt. They have the same

> sort of worth only as horses and dogs. Yet such as these even are commonly esteemed good citizens. Others - as most legislators, politicians, lawyers, ministers, and office-holders - serve the state chiefly with their heads; and, as they rarely make any moral distinctions, they are as likely to serve the devil, without *intending* it, as God. A very few - as heroes, patriots, martyrs, reformers in the great sense, and *men* - serve the state with their consciences also, and so necessarily resist it for the most part; and they are commonly treated as enemies by it.[59]

While some might claim that this was sheer anarchial individualism, it should be clear that Thoreau was not advocating chaos. The transcendentalists of the nineteenth century appealed to a higher law then that which was promulagated by the state. In so doing, they reflected that dualistic sense of reality which had served intellectually at least to maintain the freedom of the individual against the encroachment of the state. Even as Thoreau studied himself and his freedom at Walden Pond, he noted ominously how the sounds of the locomotive disturbed the idyllic peace and tranquility of his natural environment. It was, indeed, the machine and the machine culture it required that profoundly shaped the destiny of America in the coming decades.

V

The Political Economy and School Reform 1890 - 1930

By 1900 only 10% of American youth 14-17 attended a secondary school. Fifty years later approximately 90% of that age group were in secondary schools. The massive system of schooling which eventually put upwards of one-third of the population in school was economically based, to a large extent, on the rising development of corporations which created the kind of productive systems which profoundly shaped American life. The phenomenal growth of the corporation was critical in establishing the mass system of American production, distribution and consumption in the twentieth century. Charles Forcey points out that, "In

1897 the total capitalization of all corporations individually valued at a million dollars or more came to only 170 millions. Three years later the same figure for total capitalization stood at five billions, and in 1904 at over twenty billions."[60] Massive accumulation of capital was now employed to underwrite the creation of mass production systems.

As Lawrence Cremin in The Transformation of the Schools, correctly points out, it was, indeed, industrialization, urbanization and immigration which were the central problems of the era from 1890 to 1930. The political progressive's solution to these problems was found in the notion of the regulatory state. This concept of the state as it was fashioned by such Wisconsin progressives as Ely, Commons and LaFollette, and later instituted by the national government, was, itself, historically rooted in the paternalistic Bismarckian state which utilized government to rationalize and regulate the political-social economy. Behind that state was the Prussian schoolmaster, certified as we have earlier noted, by Humboldt.

The Wisconsin idea as expressed in progressive legislation was modeled after its German counterpart. The corporate liberal state which thus emerged in America was as the Bismarckian state designed to prevent major conflict between fundamental competing economic and social interests. Along with it came the use of the state not only as a regulatory agency, but as a protective welfare agency which, in exercising its authority, extended its compulsory authority to every realm of life from production to consumption. The larger corporations and larger unions found it to their financial advantage to support larger governmental authority in many areas of life.[61] That same compulsory state authority which regulated commerce also came to be used to regulate drugs, alcohol, tobacco, food, clothing, work, leisure time, communications, news, knowledge, research, as well as medicine, child labor, education and social welfare. The concept of the regulatory liberal state could readily evolve into the concept of the totalitarian

state in the twentieth century. The logic was almost inexorable. The control and management of mass production ultimately required the control and management of mass consumption.

The new mass production industries concentrated in the industrial centers of the North required the influx of the last great wave of immigrants from Southeastern Europe. American life was thus rapidly being changed not only by industrialization, but by urbanization and immigration as well. Out of this complex milieu evolved the demands for a new education, and indeed, a reintensified concern for educating the citizen and Americanizing the immigrant.

In a study of the urban school systems in the United States between 1890 and 1920, drawn mainly from school surveys, school board and superintendent reports, Paul Violas found a close correlation between the settlement house movement, the development of vocational education and the variety of attempts to Americanize the new immigrants and their children.[62] Violas points out, with R. H. Wiebe in his Search for Order, that the dominant public institution goal of the period was a very real quest for order and stability. Within that context Violas suggests that the Americanization process was complex, involving differing approaches to the problem. Broadly, he points to three major responses:[63] First, were the exclusionists who sought to not only limit immigration restriction, but to use those restrictions so as to discriminate against certain racial and ethnic groups; second were the assimilationists who attempted to Americanize the immigrant; and lastly were the cultural pluralists who thought of American citizenship in terms of a confederation of many ethnically different nationalities. Although many of the exclusionists justified their discrimination against certain groups on the grounds that certain races and groups are different, if not impossible to assimilate, those who thought in terms of assimilation were not all of one mind. As Violas points out, some were interested mainly in "erase and color."

In other words they wished to eliminate the language and traditions of ethnic origins as quickly as possible and replace them with both the English language and the Anglo-Saxon American traditions. Evidence for this position can be found not only in the curricular programs of the schools but also the state legislation which attempted to outlaw the use of foreign language in the public school.

There were still others who insisted that one must recognize the contribution that the immigrant culture could make toward enriching American culture by encouraging a measure of ethnic diversity, but yet develop the immigrant's sense of loyalty to the United States. John Dewey[64] and Jane Addams[65] both called for "democratic participation" within the system so as to gain the immigrant's loyalty. A third position of cultural pluralism as enunciated by Horace Kallen called for a loose confederation of fairly independent and fundamentally diverse ethnic groups. Needless to say, the latter did not become the mainstream.

By and large, the "democratic participation" emphasis as stressed by Dewey, Addams and others usually implied a very different meaning for both words than are usually attributed to them. Traditionally, the word democratic meant "rule by the people." In this sense it mainly implied the holding and exercise of political power. The new meaning of democracy, as developed by Dewey and Addams, stressed not so much the holding and use of real power, but rather the psychosocial effect of participation and its effect on cooperative community building. While we will analyze this conception of democracy at a later point, Violas shows how this idea of "democratic participation" was applied in the settlement houses and settlement clubs so as to manipulate and shape the character of the child in order to meet his "individual needs." In order to meet those needs a presumption was usually made, albiet an arrogant one, which suggests that educators know what each child needs because they know each child's future destiny.

Starting with that assumption, the child is "tracked" and "guided" along the educational path the educator has determined. Repeatedly one is reminded that this is all done in the name of "meeting individual differences," "learning by doing," "relevant" education, and indeed, being "practical." As Violas analyzed the settlement house, he said,

> Residents felt that they could provide the best 'education for life' by training the children for the activities that they supposedly would perform in later adult life. Immigrant and working-class children would 'learn by doing' rather than through inculcation of concepts or culture.[66]

The Americanization programs which appeared in the public schools were linked with vocational education which tracked the immigrant youngster into relatively low skilled occupations. While the immigrant child was required by law to attend school, the parents were encouraged to attend evening classes which featured English language training as well as certain basic concepts about the structure of American government. These programs met with varying degrees of success.

The Americanization campaign which worked through the schools, the workplace, the newspapers especially, the foreign language press, Y.M.C.A.'s etc. gradually became orchestrated by the Bureau of Naturalization of the Department of Labor. Stock questions about the Constitution were learned and their answers given before a judge who swore in the immigrant as a new citizen. The Americanization aim was clearly expressed by the Bureau as "America does not consist of groups. A man who thinks of himself as belonging to a particular national group in America has not yet become an American."[67] The massive campaign to Americanize the immigrant took a variety of approaches, many of which not only used the schools, but made ample use of the immigrants' organizations. As George Creel recalled after World War I, "The loyalty of 'our aliens,' however, splendid as it was, had in it nothing of the spontaneous or the accidental. Results were obtained only by hard, driving work."[68]

Violas points out that with respect to the immigrant's children, the schools served a twin complementary purpose. On the one hand, they served to adjust the child and prepare him for an occupation; and secondly, they served to help the child identify with American ideals and standards of citizenship. The overall Americanization of the immigrant proceeded within the overall context of rapidly expanding urban centers and fantastic increases in output per man hours resulting from mass production techniques. The holding power of the school was increased as child labor laws were passed and compulsory education laws enforced.

One of the first major attempts to organize and standardize the secondary school occurred when the N.E.A. (1892) Committee of Ten instituted its report which recommended the division of the high school curriculum into four different programs: classical, Latin-scientific, modern languages and English. Each program was considered useful as a terminal education. In its report the Committee of Ten insisted that there should be no distinctions in course content or method between those students bound for college and those bound for the world of work.[69] In overall perspective, the curriculum recommended was culturally oriented, tending to reflect the classical notion of a liberally educated person. While the recommendations included history, the report did not mention the word citizenship education. It assumed a psychological base of mental discipline. That psychology in contrast to modern behaviorism took as it's educational goal the development of thinking individuals. In the final analysis the thrust of this report still assumed that the secondary school ought to provide a relatively similar cultural education for all students in its charge.

Throughout the 1890's the secondary school rapidly increased in number and size; for example, in 1890 there were 2,526 public high schools serving 203,000 students, while in 1900 there were 6,005 schools serving 519,000 students.[70] By 1898 the highly influential American Historical Association's Committee of Seven

recommended that the high school curriculum remain heavily classical in orientation and incorporate four years of history. Shortly after the turn of the century, however, the newer social sciences, such as the American Political Science Association (1903) and the American Sociological Society (1905) were organized. By 1908 the A.P.S.A. called for one course in American government in the high school curriculum and shortly thereafter the A.S.S. argued for a sociology course at the twelfth grade level which would help the "citizenry adjust to a complex and problematical social environment."[71]

The many recommendations and fundamentally significant policy changes in the function of the high school were perhaps best capsulated by the 1918 "Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education of the N.E.A." The report of this commission set the basic direction of the American comprehensive high school for the twentieth century. It clearly reflected the declining influence of the classical tradition and with it the psychology of mental discipline. With that decline went much of the intellectual culture which undergirded the idea of individual freedom. The new psychology of behaviorism and the new philosophy of pragmatic liberalism were clearly in evidence. The goal of the secondary school, the committee surmised, ought to be expanded from what was essentially an intellectual culture to include virtually every aspect of social life. The goals were: "1. Health, 2. Command of fundamental processes (communicative and computational skills), 3. Worthy home membership, 4. Vocation, 5. Citizenship, 6. Worthy use of leisure time, 7. Ethical character."[72] The committee went on to say that the school,

> . . .should develop in the individual those qualities whereby he will act his part as a member of a neighborhood, town or city, state, and nation, and give him a basis for understanding international problems. For such citizenship the following are essential: a many-sided interest in the welfare of the community to which one belongs; loyalty to ideals of civic righteousness; practical knowledge of social agencies and institutions; good judgement as to means and methods that will promote one social end without defeating others; and as putting all these into effect, habits of cordial cooperation in social undertaking.[73]

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century thousands of teachers in training were required to commit to memory this committee's aims and goals as standard for all secondary schools of the nation.

The ideas of the committee were further reinterated by a variety of committees and commissions throughout the twentieth century. For example, in 1937, the Joint Committee on Curriculum of the Department of Supervision and Directors of Instruction of the N.E.A. and the Society for the Curriculum Study, listed as their objectives: "1. Living in the home, 2. Leisure, 3. Citisenship, 4. Organized group life, 5. Consumption, 6. Production, 7. Communication, 8. Transportation."[74] In 1938 the Educational Policies Commission of the N.E.A. outlined their view of the goals of education in American democracy as, "1. The objectives of Self Realization, 2. The objectives of Human Relationship, 3. The objective of Economic Efficiency, 4. The objective of Civic Responsibility."[75] This list was further recast in 1944 into more specific detailed needs of youth:

1. All youth need to develop saleable skills and those understandings and attitudes that make the worker an intelligent and productive participant in economic life.
2. All youth need to maintain and develop good health and physical fitness.
3. All youth need to understand the rights and duties of the citizen of a democratic society, and to be diligent and competent in the performance of their obligations as members of the community and citizens of the state and nation.
4. All youth need to understand the significance of the family for the individual and society, and the conditions conducive to successful family life.
5. All youth need to know how to purchase and use goods and services intelligently, understanding both the values received by the consumer and the economic consequences of their acts.
6. All youth need to understand the methods of science, the influence of science on human life and the main scientific facts concerning the nature of the world and men.
7. All youth need opportunities to develop their capacities to appreciate beauty in literature, art, music, and nature.
8. All youth need to be able to use their leisure time well and to budget it wisely, balancing activities that yield satisfactions to the individual with those that are socially useful.

9. All youth need to develop respect for other persons, to grow in their insights into ethical values and principles, and to be able to live and work cooperatively with others.
10. All youth need to grow in their ability to think rationally, to express their thoughts clearly, and to read and listen with understanding.[76]

VI

Towards a Psychology and Philosophy of Social Control

Not only did the high schools grow in numbers and size, serving a larger more diverse clientele, but they had markedly expanded their function. All the needs of all the youth now were to be defined and met by the organized school. In this sense, there seemingly was no end to the school's presumed ability to meet one's needs. Citizenship had come to be defined in many different ways. While some continued to think of citizenship education as limited to civic training, focusing on the individual and his understanding of his government, others thought of citizenship education not only in terms of knowledge of government but in total behavior of the individual. Thus, high school sports were justified on citizenship grounds,[77] as were home room activities, assembly programs, magazine sales and school clubs. Here again the character education movement and the mental hygiene movement in the early decades of the twentieth century were concerned with the development of the "citizen."[78] Underlying much of this discussion was the basic tenet of the new psychology and new liberalism.

The reconstruction that occurred in both psychology and philosophy carried both theoretical and practical problems with respect to the maintenance of the freedom and integrity of the individual as opposed to the needs of the social system. Increasingly, one finds the needs of the individual defined in terms of the needs of society and more ominously still was the apparent increasing concern with the behavior of the individual rather than his intellectual capabilities.

Although it is the case that the classical educational idealist also was concerned with shaping character, it should be restated that their central concern was with the development of intellect which was, itself, premised on the assumption of a free individual, mentally exercising his freedom of choice. The new psychology of behavior, as developed by Thorndike, Watson and later B. F. Skinner,

fundamentally rejected the notion of freedom of choice on the part of the individual.[79] As Skinner argued,

> The hypothesis that man is not free is essential to the application of scientific method to the study of human behavior. The free inner man who is held responsible for the behavior of the external biological organism is only a prescientific substitute for the kinds of causes which are discovered in the course of a scientific analysis.[80]

On the surface this may appear as an interesting problem expressed by a few psychologists. When however, the idea is translated into textbooks, teachers guides, lesson plans, indeed, the very way teachers are taught to perceive the learning process, this idea has devastating consequences for freedom in education. The new psychology of behaviorism was a manipulative psychology appropriate for the management, control, and the education of man in a totalitarian social system. While Thorndike thought of education as a "stamping in" process and supposedly refuted the notion of mental discipline by replacing it with a theory of "identical elements," a theory which provides the psychological basis for the social efficiency and life adjustment movement, and Watson and Skinner thought of education in terms of conditioning, the new social behaviorism of George Herbert Mead developed the theory of transactional relationship.

Mead, along with John Dewey,[81] put the emphasis on the emergence of the social self and the way that social self was transactionally shaped by interaction within one's social environment. It should be noted that even though Mead and Dewey both saw the individual more as an active agent than, for example, Skinner or Watson, their psychology, in fact, was no less manipulative. Setting aside the argument one might get in the realm of philosophy for the moment, there is very little difference to be seen between the social psychology of Mead and Dewey and the social psychology of Chairman Mao. Both argued that the social environment must be managed and controlled so as to effect changes in the social self of the individual. As Dewey put it, "Control is the crux of our freedom."[82]

The social behaviorism of Mead and Dewey has become the psychology which undergirds the point of view of many of our leaders in political science, sociology and anthropology. If one brings together the psychology of Watson and Skinner with the psychology of Mead and Dewey as different but parallel forms of behaviorism, it becomes apparent that behaviorism represents the mainstream of American psychology in the twentieth century. It can be shown practically that this kind of psychology has had a profound impact on the curriculum of the public schools. Repeatedly, the primary emphasis is placed on specific behavior expected from an educational experience rather than on the understanding of a free human being who freely chooses to behave or not to behave as he or she wills. The educational profession as well as the governmentally supported agencies overwhelmingly reflect this mentality as they insist on all objectives to be cast in behavioral terms.

Thought and action, as Watson once claimed, have become one in our thinking. Under the circumstances there is no more reason to allow freedom of thought as there is to allow freedom of action.[83] Some years ago, William James rightly warned psychologists that by their own theories of human nature they exercised the power of elevating or degrading that same human nature.[84] Modern behavioral psychology, even when it presumes an inner self which is transactionally related to environment, is still behavioristic, highly manipulative, which fundamentally denies the dualism upon which most conceptions of freedom have rested in the modern world.

Not only the reconstruction of psychology was important in terms of the modern community, but also the reconstruction in philosophy. The key leader, here, was John Dewey. The new liberalism,[85] as developed by Dewey was a comprehensive reconstruction of the old classical liberalism to the new liberalism of the twentieth century. While the old liberals thought of the individual in terms of "freedom from," the new liberals thought in terms of "freedom to." While the old saw

the freedom of the individual in relation to the state in negative terms, the new liberalism saw it in positive terms. Thus the new liberals intellectually laid the ideological foundation for the educational state in twentieth century America.

Dewey believed America suffered most from what was essentially an anarchic laissez faire individualism. What was needed, he argued, was the creation of a new corporate individualism.[86] He recognized the need to reconstruct American philosophy which he saw virtually in shambles as the classical, religious conception of man declined in the face of the advance of scientific naturalism. Thus, not only the school was changing, but the very ideological framework through which educators perceived their work was to be reconstructed. This reconstruction in philosophy carried with it certain problematic weaknesses, perhaps even fatal flaws. If in fact the meaning of an idea was to be determined by it's consequences in action as most pragmatists claimed, then one might ask what was the social consequences of this liberal philosophy when it came to action? The ethical questions involved in the use and abuse of power come quickly to the fore and are extremely difficult to access.[87] The failure to pragmatically evaluate pragmatic liberal philosophy was, itself, a problem. What, for example, has been the practical consequence of the destruction of dualism in our thinking on the intellectual basis of our freedom in the modern world? In the positive planned state freedom, itself, becomes problematic. The limits of state action become pragmatically relative to survival interests of the state which in turn, are repeatedly cast into scientific efficiency terms.

Throughout Dewey's reconstruction of philosophy runs a conscious reconstruction in the meaning of words. God, spirit, religion, freedom, democracy, science and scientific method take on new and different meanings for him. These meanings were reconstructed over time as he worked out his new philosophy.

The word "democracy" for Dewey took on a vastly different meaning than what it traditionally meant.[88] In his "Ethics of Democracy" (1888) essay, Dewey began to reconstruct the meaning of the term. Democracy, he believed, must be thought of in terms not so much as the majority or minority or the will of the people, but as the way that majority is created. Democracy was not to be thought of so much in terms of politics or power, but in broader, cultural participatory terms. The emphasis was to be on the quality and kind of participation rather than a numerical power analysis.

Dewey was attempting, in a broad sense, to fashion a modern Paideia. He hoped to do for democracy in his, Democracy and Education, (1918) what Plato has done for aristocracy in his Republic. Dewey attempted to fashion the educational ideology necessary for a social democracy. In such a state, class conflict was to be minimized and indeed obscured as one focused less on power analysis and more on the progressive requirements for the new emerging order. That order took as its guiding star the development and use of scientific method. By 1927, when Dewey published The Public and Its Problems, it was clear that behind his conception of democracy was a chief concern not for a political analysis of power and its relationship to the will of the people, as it was for a concern that the best method, the scientific method, become an integral part of the creation of a "public" mind.

The focus here, was not with political power of people, but rather how the people "scientifically" came to make their decisions. The chief concern was in how one participates, not in what power one wields. With this view of democracy in mind, Dewey visited the Soviet Union in 1928 and found the ". . .Russian school children much more democratically organized than our own."[89] When he spoke of the Soviet schools as more democratic, he was not using the term in the sense of "rule by the people" or what constitutes majority rule versus minority rule in any strict political sense. He did not ask questions about power or who controlled the schools and

how representative the Communist Party was of the people. Rather, he used it in the sense of social democracy as an organic community that he had been developing since his "Ethics of Democracy" essay in 1888; later in its educational aspects in Democracy and Education in 1916; and in its broader cultural aspects in The Public and Its Problems in 1927. He, then, was not concerned with whether or not the Soviet communists really represented the majority or the minority of the people. This was an "arithematical" problem for Dewey. He was more concerned with how the schools "organically" related to those "forces" which were in the ascendancy.[90]

The philosopher of American democracy, looked at the formation of the totalitarian Russian educational system in the decades after the revolution and called it democratic. This however was no mistake. When Dewey looked at the Russian schools in 1928 he saw students and teachers - school and society actively unified in purpose and aim, "scientifically" reconstructing their society. His idea of a social democracy which put emphasis on social participation without critically dealing with questions of power had for him come to life. There are, then, some particular hazards in using the term democracy in education to mean participation without a corresponding critical look at who controls the power. Dewey's conception of power as well as his conception of "science," especially as it was translated by many educators into the "method of intelligence," or, indeed, the idea of "critically thinking" can be problematic. If and when these methods are used to emphasize participation in the name of "democracy" without a corresponding real analysis of the use of power, then it is clearly possible to call even a totalitarian system "democratic."

While the citizenship literature in the twentieth century abounds with the use of the words democracy and participation, it usually does not mean democracy in the old sense of political democracy, but more in the social liberal conception.

Participation, in these terms, becomes more of a symbolic activity given to helping people feel as though they are making a real difference when, in fact, they are not. This kind of participatory experience is reflected in student councils, student government activities and many of the organized planned school-related activities.[91]

The liberal's reconstructed notion of democracy carries with it the idea that the crucial social problems we face in the twentieth century can and ought to be solved by the application of scientific method to the political process of decision making. The older notion of political parties and public debates were passe, as Dewey put it,

> The idea that the conflict of parties will, by means of public discussion, bring out necessary public truths is a kind of political watered-down version of the Hegelian dialectic, with its synthesis arrived at by a union of antithetical conceptions. The method has nothing in common with the procedure of organized cooperative inquiry which has won the triumphs of science in the field of physical nature.[92]

Dewey's position carried with it a number of assumptions. For one, he assumed that most twentieth century problems are not so much raw power conflicts as they are problems of simply knowing the right answers. For the most part, these problems, he believed, were amenable to scientific solution. Secondly, he thought that most of these problems resulted from cultural lag. Cultural lag occurred when certain areas of our thinking as well as institutional structures have failed to keep pace with our advancing knowledge in science and technology. The solution, he believed, was to extend the application of scientific method to all realms of life. How, then, did the rule of the people fit into this process? He believed that the public must be educated to accept scientific evidence. The role of the educator was to provide a "democratic" education which would help people accept the new scientifically directed social democracy. The role of the professional was vital. He or she stood as the key agent by which the majority was formed. Dewey pointed out that the real heart of the

matter, "is found not in the voting nor in the counting the votes to see where the majority lies. It is in the process by which the majority is formed."[93] That majority was to be formed by a democratic education which did not mean power to the people, but rather scientific consciousness to the people. Dewey's conception of American democracy and education rested squarely on the teaching of this method of inquiry with all its ideological ramifications.

The views of George S. Counts, a close colleague of Dewey's, was even more explicit. In Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order, Counts argued that the schools should not only teach the right scientific attitudes and values which could undergird a new scientific community, but they should be even more explicit in blueprinting a new social order. The professional educator according to Counts, ought to use his or her influence to get youth committed to the acceptance of the scientific method and the application of that method to social planning. The process by which this would come about was what the new liberals called democratic education. Here, again, this did not mean an education which was controlled by the people, rather it meant an education which would indoctrinate or inculcate those values and attitudes which were necessary for the majority to come to the right scientifically determined solutions. Dewey never tired of emphasizing that the important thing is not the counting of votes but rather how those votes were determined in the first place. Democracy was not simply the "rule of the people" who might be an ignorant mass, but it was the "rule of the people" who were scientifically enlightened by virtue of a democratic education. The role of the professional educator as a "democratic educator" was to enlighten. Counts' basic meritocratic liberal views were well expressed when he said,

> If a democracy is to have democratic education, the school must be protected not only against the assaults of minorities but also from the caprice and ignorance of the majority. A central task of democratic education is to educate a democracy to desire, to support, and to defend a program of democratic education.[94]

Aside from the circularity of the argument, it seems clear that while the professional educators guided the vast majority of young people to accept the

values of "democratic" education, those educators must be protected from the "caprice and ignorance of the adult majority." The role of the professional in fashioning the new meritocratic order was evident. The role of the expert as a mid-wife to truth must be protected against the machinations of an ignorant majority. Participation of that majority must be encouraged only when it comes to that majority making elightened decisions and discouraged when they make the "wrong" decisions. The tension between the older meaning of democracy as "rule by the people" and the new liberal view of democracy as "rule for the people by the knowledgeable expert" is evident. Throughout much of the citizenship education literature there is a pronounced call for student participation. The current literature abounds with such concerns, even to suggesting "intern" programs in citizenship education. For the most part, these activities are symbolic acts, shorn of real or significant power, effective in creating, for some perhaps, the illusion of governing themselves.

There are times, however, when the older notion of democracy comes to the fore and when it does, as it did in the 1960's for example, at Ocean-Hill Brownsville and elsewhere in both the civil rights and the anti-war movements, the role of the expert is sure to be challanged. So Samuel P. Huntington, a Harvard professor of government, in writing a report to the highly influential Trilateral Commission analyzing The Crisis of Democracy[95] in America in the 1960's found that American democracy suffered from too much participation of its people in its government. What was needed, Huntington argued, was a return to more respect for the expert and less participation on the part of the majority. As he put it, the ". . .democratic system usually requires some measure of apathy and noninvolvement on the part of some individuals and groups."[96] It was clear to Huntington as it was with others on the Commission, that too much participation was dangerous to social stability when he said,

> The vulnerability of democratic government in the United States thus comes not primarily from external threats, though such threats are real, nor from internal submission from the left or the right, although both possibilities could exist, but rather from the internal dynamics of democracy itself in a highly educated, mobilized, and participant society.[97]

The threat to liberal democracy was too much old-fashioned democracy of rule by the people. Participation, if taken seriously, could be a dangerous thing. While Huntington called for less participation, other liberal educators called for more participation of the student in citizenship education. This however was not a contradiction. Huntington was talking about real power while the educators were talking about symbolic exercises in the use of power. In both cases it was tacitly assumed that the majority was going to be protected from itself by the professional experts.

Although George S. Counts' notion of a democratic education was essentially the same as Dewey's basically liberal views, Counts went further. While Dewey more often tended to stop inculcation of values at the methodology level, Counts as well as other social reconstructionists, went further in spelling out the immediate solutions to a variety of problems. Even before Counts gave his epic-making speech before the Progressive Education Association, "Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order," another liberal social reconstructionist had finished a new social studies textbook series based upon that philosophy.

Harold Rugg, working with a team of specialists, developed a comprehensive set of social studies textbooks in the 1920s which can easily be counted as one of the most successful textbook series of the 1930s, selling over five million copies. These texts represented the single most ambitious attempt to implement the social reconstructionist philosophy directly into educational practice.

Much critical research needs to be done in citizenship texts, guides and tests, school board and school superintendent reports and school surveys on the actual citizenship education programs in use in the schools during the twentieth

century. One suspects that a differentiated curriculum program existed in citizenship education which followed along ethnic, racial and class lines. The verification or rejection of such a hypothesis awaits much more extensive and intensive empirical research than is done here.

Our analysis will proceed by considering a variety of diverse but expanding thrusts in citizenship education in the period 1930 through 1960. We will then consider some limits placed on certain citizenship exercises by the United States Supreme Court and lastly we will turn to an analysis of three sample approaches to citizenship education that were used in the schools during this period. No claim is made as to these being the only programs in the schools or the exact extent to which any one was or was not dominant in the curriculum of the schools. As our analysis unfolds our focus will be on a "life adjustment approach," then a "social reconstructionist approach" and finally a "method of inquiry approach." Each approach was philosophically rooted and had historically occupied a significant place in the schools during the period under study.

VII

Selected Approaches to Citizenship Education

While not all citizenship curricular experts thought of democracy and participation in exactly the same way as Dewey, Counts or Rugg, for most, however, the meaning of the term had radically changed from its former usage. Under the mantle of democracy, not only a lesser concern for the political understanding of the citizen was manifested, but more importantly, a greater concern for his or her personality character, and emotional development was expressed. Not much seemed to be missed when the Educational Policies Commission defined the "Hallmark of Democratic Education" in 1940 as:

1. Democratic education has as its central purpose the welfare of all the people.
2. Democratic education serves each individual with justice, seeking to provide equal educational opportunity for all, regardless of intelligence, race, religion, social status, economic condition, or vocational plans.
3. Democratic education respects the basic civil liberties in practice and clarifies their meaning through study.
4. Democratic education is concerned for the maintenance of those economic, political, and social conditions which are necessary for the enjoyment of liberty.
5. Democratic education guarantees to all the members of its community the right to share in determining the purposes and policies of education.
6. Democratic education uses democratic methods, in classroom, administration, and student activities.
7. Democratic education makes efficient use of personnel, teaching respect for competence in positions of responsibility.
8. Democratic education teaches through experience that every privilege entails a corresponding duty, every authority a responsibility, every responsibility an accounting to the group which granted the privilege or authority.
9. Democratic education demonstrates that far-reaching changes, of both policies and procedures, can be carried out in orderly and peaceful fashion, when the decisions to make the changes have been reached by democratic means.
10. Democratic education liberates and uses the intelligence of all.
11. Democratic education equips citizens with the materials of knowledge needed for democratic efficiency.
12. Democratic education promotes loyalty to democracy by stressing positive understanding and appreciation and by summoning youth to service in a great cause.[98]

The citizen was to be shaped by the state to conform to "democratic education" whatever that included. Lost, here, was any sense that the state was only a necessary expedient and that the citizen ought to be free as much as possible from its controlling influence. The power of the state to do things to its citizens seemingly appeared limitless. Some, however, held more limited views. Especially was this true of those who thought of civic education in terms of the standard discipline of history or the newer emerging social science disciplines, political science, economics and sociology. Throughout the century a variety of committees have attempted to create standards for what ought to be considered social studies. One such committee was the 1913 Committee on Social Studies working under the N.E.A. Commission of the Reorganization of Secondary Education. Another very important committee was the Commission on Social Studies of the American Historical Association which grew out of the work of A.C. Krey in 1929. From 1932 to 1941 this commission produced some seventeen volumes. These commissions and committees usually attempted to set guidelines and standards within a framework of applying the social science disciplines to the elementary and secondary schools.

In contrast to these discipline-oriented programs, there were many programs which took as their central focus moral and spiritual character, attitudes, habits, skills of participation and value clarification. While a few programs had taken the idea of a classical liberal education seriously and had attempted to construct programs on the notion of using knowledge to help develop a free thinking, judging, willing and acting individual, most programs tended toward a central concern for specific habits and behaviors which preclude judgment on the part of the individual. Vernon E. Jones came close to a Fichtean model of citizenship when he focused his attention on character education as he said,

> Character is less entensive than personality, but it covers a certain segment of thought and overt behavior more intensively. Character deals particularly with the volitional and inhibitory phases of human behavior and concentrates on values which give direction, order

> and meaning to life. It stresses creativeness in mind and action. In character we are always conscious not only of what is but of what ought to be both in conduct and conditions of life.[99]

If the state could only shape people's character, what people willed, then, in fact the proper behavior, would be secure. The overall concern was to teach people how to feel, how to will, what to think and how to act.

A number of patriotic organizations have been actively involved in the schools such as the D.A.R., the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars. Through a variety of activities these organizations have espoused a conception of citizenship in terms of unfailing loyalty. For example, the Legion defined Americanism as:

> An unfailing love of country, loyalty to its institutions and ideals; eagerness to defend it against all enemies; individual allegiance to the flag; and a desire to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and posterity.[100]

The citizenship literature of this kind of organization usually abounds with much concern for the emotional zeal and committment the citizen ought to have towards his or her country. In the early days of the Cold War, just before the McCarthy era, (1948) Commissioner Studebaker of the U.S. Office of Education launched a program which he labeled the Zeal for Democracy in which he voiced the following concern:

> A nation cannot be strong unless it is united in support of a common civic and social creed. The American creed is that of a democracy and human liberty. That creed cannot be viewed with apathy and indifference. It must be propagated and supported with an individual collective passion by all good Americans. The propagation of that creed is a fundamental objective of American Education.[101]

In a similar vein, Philip H. Falk, Superintendent of the Madison, Wisconsin public schools registered his view of the citizenship training in the schools when he said, "Equally important is the need for indoctrinating youth with conviction regarding American democracy. There are basic principles for which America stands. There should be no doubt in the minds of youth as to what principles are."[102] Neither Falk nor many others seemed to find much incongruity in "indoctrinating for American democracy." Their chief concern from this standpoint was loyalty,

indeed, emotional loyalty, as J. J. Mahoney put it in For Us The Living, (1945) "The dominant purpose should be to cause children to feel as they ought to feel."[103]

While many educators had clearly passed into a totalitarian view of the purposes of citizenship training, sometimes this view clashed with other loyalties. These clashes centered on certain school practices which ultimately pinned state authority against the individual's freedom. Some of the more critical problems eventually found their way to the Supreme Court. The recent *Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District* (1969) case was one such instance which finally established the right of the student to peaceably, symbolically protest government action while attending government owned schools. An earlier series of cases involving the exercise of the state authority to compel citizens to symbolically express their loyalty occurred in the form of the flag-salute cases. In these particular cases, religious conviction was pinned against the power of the state to compel the flag salute. The question was posed: Does the citizen have a constitutional right to refuse to salute the flag in an educational institution where the state requires such an action and when such a salute violates his religious conscience? In *Minersville School District v. Gobitis* (1940), the court concluded, in an eight-to-one decision, that the state educational authority may require saluting of the flag in the interest of "national feeling and unity," as a condition of school attendance. In this case, a Jehovah's Witness' religious beliefs were directly opposed to a state practice designed to achieve national unity.[104] By a large majority the court upheld the state's right to inculcate patriotic values through the use of a required flag salute in the schools.

Only three years later, in essentially the same kind of case,[105] *West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette* (1943), the court reversed itself in a six-to-three decision. What accounted for such a quick reversal? Two new justices joined the court and three justices changed their opinion. It is

reasonable to suspect that the latter justices viewed the consequences of the Minersville decision, did not like what they saw, and reversed their earlier opinions on that basis.

The consequences of the Minersville decision were immediately apparent. Within one week after the decision was made, hundreds of Jehovah's Witnesses - men, women, and children - were physically attacked and abused in most inhumane ways. Jehovah's Witnesses' meeting places were burned and their leaders driven out of town, usually with the law enforcement agency of the community leading the way. For example:

> In one town, the chief of police and the deputy sheriff forced a group of Jehovah's Witnesses to drink large doses of castor oil and then paraded them through the streets tied together with police-department rope. In another, a local judge warned a group of Witnesses that unless they compelled their children to salute the flag he would take the children away from them and place them in an institution where they would be taught to understand what Americanism is.[106]

A wave of religious persecution, fanned by wartime nationalistic fervor, swept the country.[107] These were some of the conditions surrounding the Barnette Case, in which the court made one of the quickest reversals in its history. Objecting to the reversal, Justice Frankfurter argued:

> As a member of this Court I am not justified in writing my private notions of policy into the Constitution, no matter how deeply I may cherish them or how mischievous I may deem their disregard. The duty of a judge who must decide which of two claims before the Court shall prevail, that of a State to enact and enforce laws within its general competence or that of an individual to refuse obedience because of the demands of his conscience is not that of the ordinary person. It can never be emphasized too much that one's own opinion about the wisdom or evil of a law should be excluded altogether when one is doing one's duty on the bench. Most unwillingly, therefore, I must differ from my brethren with regard to legislation like this. I cannot bring my mind to believe that the 'liberty' secured by the Due Process Clause gives this Court authority to deny to the State of West Virginia the attainment of that which we all recognize as a legitimate legislative end, namely, the promotion of good citizenship, by employment of the means here chosen. . . .[108]

On the other hand, in delivering the majority opinion of the court Justice Robert Jackson argued that this was not so much a case involving freedom of

religion as a case involving freedom of speech, which includes the freedom not to speak. Does the state have the authority to coerce its citizens to say that which they don't believe? While it may be that the national unity which officials foster by persuasion and example is a desirable end, Jackson argued that:

> As governmental pressure toward unity becomes greater, so strife becomes more bitter as to whose unity it shall be. Probably no deeper division of our people could proceed from any provocation than from finding it necessary to choose what doctrine and whose program public educational officials shall compel youth to unite in embracing. Ultimate futility of such attempts to compel coherence is the lesson of every such effort from the Roman drive to stamp out Christianity as a disturber of its pagan unity, the Inquisition, as a means to religious and dynastic unity, the Siberian exiles as a means to Russian unity, down to the fast failing efforts of our present totalitarian enemies. Those who begin coercive elimination of dissent soon find themselves exterminating dissenters.[109]

Jackson went on to point out that freedom cannot be limited to only those things which make little difference but must be extended to those things which we view as important.

> To believe that patriotism will not flourish if patriotic ceremonies are voluntary and spontaneous instead of a compulsory routine is to make an unflattering estimate of the appeal of our institutions to free minds. We can have intellectual individualism and the rich cultural diversities that we owe to exceptional minds only at the price of occasional eccentricity and abnormal attitudes. When they are so harmless to others or to the State as those we deal with here, the price is not too great. But freedom to differ is not limited to things that do not matter much. That would be a mere shadow of freedom. The test of its substance is the right to differ as to things that touch the heart of the existing order.
>
> If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein. If there are any circumstances which permit an exception, they do not now occur to us.[110]

The Barnette decision was based, then, on both freedom of religion and freedom of speech, guaranteed by the First Amendment.[111]

While at critical moments the courts have drawn a line placing limits on the state in the exercise of its authority, the bulk of the thrust of educational literature came up on the side of the social system and required conforming

behavior. Emotional health and mental hygiene have often been tied to citizenship education.[112] Most of this literature uses behavioristic psychology tending to specify behavioral outcomes. The guiding educational psychology of the twentieth century has been a behavioristic psychology which is fundamentally premised on the notion that man is not free.

The "identical elements curricular" notions of Thorndike and the "behaviorism" of Watson and Skinner have directly contributed to the social efficiency thinking which undergirds much of the "life adjustment" curriculum. This curriculum is closely tied to vocational competency and social efficiency.[113] This approach to citizenship education is behavioristic, focusing on specific behavior. It is "practical," concerned mainly with practices as it places emphasis on participation and tends to sloganize the educational jargon of "learning by doing." The overall thrust is on adjustment to the social order. Perhaps the best way to see this emphasis is to look briefly at the Table of Contents of a citizenship text which employs this approach. In many ways, the Table of Contents of E. Crawford, E. G. Cooley, C. C. Trillingham, and E. Stoops, Living Your Life, 1953, almost speaks for itself:

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Those who adopted this life adjustment curriculum were concerned with practical problems of living, ranging from how to buy a car to how to "be dated, dined, and danced," and even how to share a bathroom. The main point was to train the individual to adjust to specific practical aspects of one's life. The emphasis, being clearly practical and highly relevant, was on "how to" behave. The manipulative behaviorism is clearly in evidence as is the implicit totalitarian view of the limitless function of the school.

In fundamental philosophy, the life adjustment educators were usually liberals who saw their educational mission as adjusting the student to the practical world

of living as they saw that world. For the most part, that world turned out to be the benign, dream-like world of the white middle class. This approach did not place emphasis on controversial social and economic problems, but rather on solvable personal problems of social living.

In contrast, the social reconstructionism of Rugg placed heavy stress on larger social and economic issues. He, too, believed the function of the school was to adjust the student to live successfully in his age. In order to do so, Rugg believed, it was necessary to squarely face the many social and economic problems which have been a by-product of the great advances in science and technology in the twentieth century. As the student studied Rugg's textbooks, he came to confront a variety of social and economic problems. Invariably he did so in the context of what Dewey and others called cultural lag. For example, the student was told that the problems he was studying were usually caused by the failure of certain groups, beliefs, people or institutions to keep up with the progress of science and technology. He also was told that there was a solution to all these problems. Whether one faced problems of unemployment, poverty, disease, medical services, urban congestion, propaganda, immigration, law enforcement, honesty in advertising or big business excessive profits, it was always suggested that these problems could be ameliorated in the end and solved through scientific planning. Rugg's approach was that of an engineer, socially engineering what he perceived to be a better world.

It is important to realize that Ruggs' first experimental edition was worked out from 1921-1923 and the second from 1923-1926. The work was accomplished by a large team of research associates who utilized curriculum materials worked out in a variety of school settings, and then shaped and reshaped through the decade of the 1920s. When Ginn and Company published Rugg's An Introduction to Problems of American Culture in 1931, the entire Rugg social science series were available for the schools which included six textbooks designed for different

grade levels, with an accompanying workbook and teacher's guide for each text. The work was a major accomplishment. It was used extensively in the schools throughout the decade of the 1930's. These textbook series were not just a response to the Great Depression, nor were they a response to Counts' Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order, rather they were a clear attempt to educationally institutionalize the liberal reconstructionist philosophy. Here again, this approach can perhaps be best sensed by looking at the Table of Contents of one of these texts. The Table of Contents for Rugg's Volume 6 of An Introduction to Problems of American Culture is as follows:

CONTENTS

Unit I

An Introduction To Problems Of American Culture

Chapter		Page
I.	Introducing Some Important Problems Of Our Changing Culture	3

Unit II

American Culture And Changing Group Life

II.	America: A Nation of Communities	19
III.	America's Million Neighborhoods	45
IV.	The Immigrant in Community and Neighborhood Life	70
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Government and Changing Town and City Life

X. Changing Community Government in America 221

XI. The Real Government of the Community 243

XII. Introducing the Study of Law 270

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Unit VII

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XIX. Advertising and the Consumer 447

XX. The Changing Customs, Standards, and Recreations of the Common Man 478

XXI. The Rise of the Fine Arts in America 514

XXII. Assimilation of Different Nationalities and Races. . . . 553

XXIII. Looking Ahead: The Age of Planning 591

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Rugg's Introduction To the Problems of American Life took the reader through economic and social problems of neighborhood, family living, work, government, the mass media, the shaping of public opinion, fine arts, as well as the problem of ethnic and racial differences. The causes for these problems were repeatedly found in the advancing new industrial revolution and its impact on social life. Progress, through scientific technology, had wrought positive change and improvement in the American standard of living. Modernization was treated as a positive good. This was demonstrated by looking at the "ordinary" day in the life of the American family in 1890 and again in the modern day:

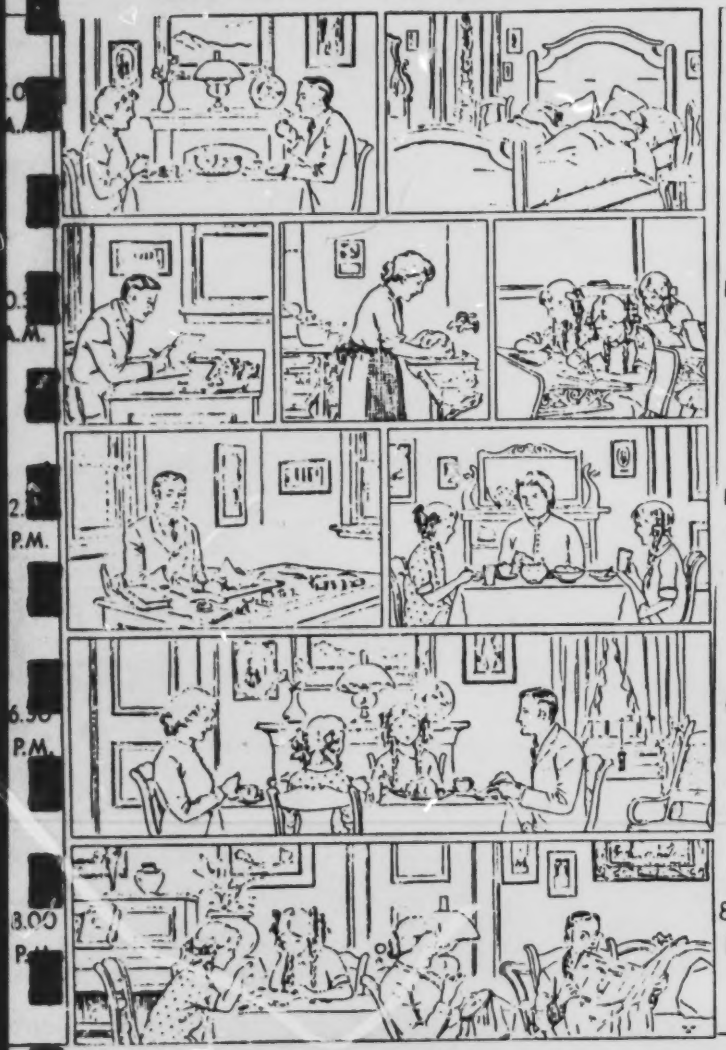

Fig. 37. An ordinary day in the life of an American family in 1890. Compare this picture with figure 50[116]

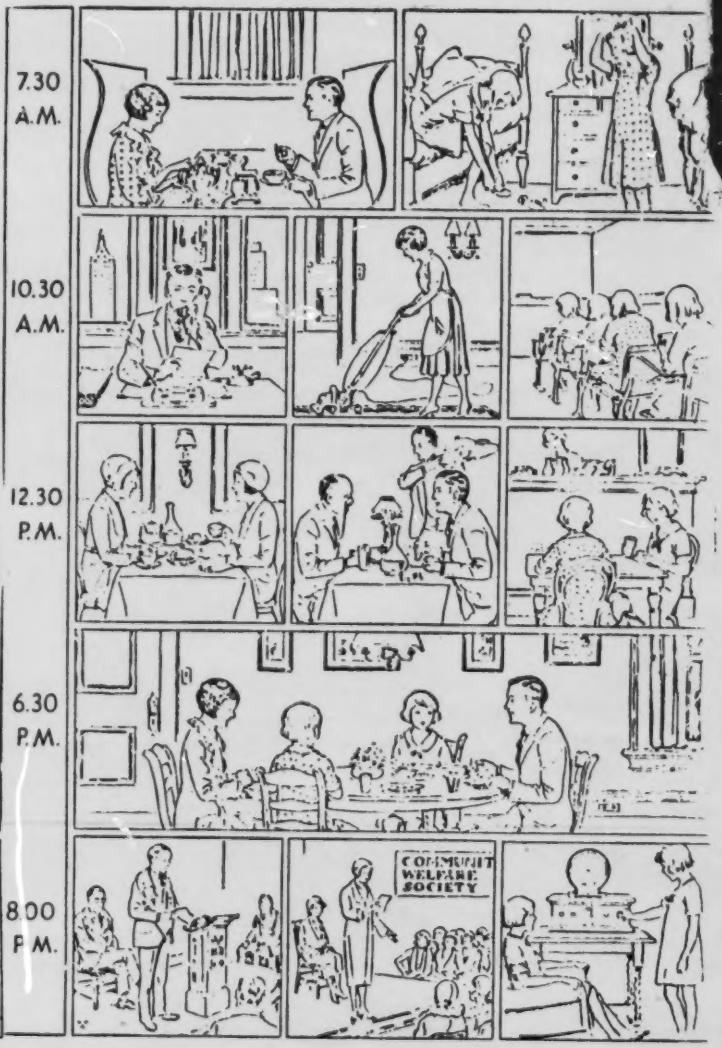

Fig. 50. An ordinary day in the life of a modern American family[117]

The blessings of technology and modernization on the American family are clearly in evidence. There are problems however with this idyllic picture, as Rugg is quick to note. He goes on to describe the home life of "Mr. Very Poor Man," "Mr. Average Worker," "Mr. Average White-Collar," "Mr. Prosperous Business Man" and "Mr. Cultured Man Comes Home." A variety of social-economic classes are represented in the texts, along with the impact of technology on the world of work and family. But throughout, class is not represented as a class out of which one's own self interest is to be politically organized. More often, it is represented as a social ladder upon which everyone aspires to a higher standard of living and social power over one's fellow men. This view of society was a given, rooted in the very nature of man. As Rugg put it in a later text,

> So man's struggle for a better living has been partly influenced by his desire for power over his fellow man. So it has been in all times and in all places throughout the life of man on earth. . . .Now all these things that a man desires and struggles to get can be described by one phrase, 'standard of living.'
>
> What a man wants and struggles everlastingly to get is his standard of living.[118]

Rugg's view of the social class system was that of a meritocratic liberal who saw the social class system, structured as a ladder system upon which men struggled for a place. Throughout Rugg's analysis is found a fundamental commitment to this view of social structure. Even as the conditions of each rung on the ladder can be made better and perhaps made even closer together through progress in science, technology and corporate life, the ladder system remained. Undergirding Rugg's textbooks was a fundamental acceptance of the corporate system. There were, of course, many social problems as Rugg pointed out:

1. There are difficult problems of the changing family.
2. There are problems of the breakdown in neighborhood life.
3. There are problems of assimilating the immigrant.
4. There are problems of unemployment.
5. There are problems of honest and efficient community government.
6. There are problems of law enforcement.
7. There are problems of controlling and improving the press.

8. There are problems of propaganda and censorship.
9. There are problems of controlling the use of advertising and of the increasing extravagance of our people.
10. There are problems of educating the consumer in scientific buying.
11. There are problems growing out of the increasing restlessness and speed of life.
12. There are problems growing out of the interest of the people in accumulating money and property.
13. There are problems of intolerance and interference in individual and group life.[119]

Rugg repeatedly emphasized that the solution to these many problems was more sound economic and social planning. The state power was to be used not only to regulate business and social life for efficiency purposes, but to partially redistribute income so that all might have the "best standard of living" possible. Rugg said,

> Finally, we must have plans which will help divide the national income among the people so that every person will have the best standard of living in respect to comfort that the great wealth of the nation now makes possible.[120]

This redistribution would come about as scientific planning would be employed in all areas of life. Even before the New Deal took place in 1932, one found a series of proposals for government planning in the Rugg textbooks which were presented as the solution to most social ills. There is, Rugg surmised, ". . .a need for a great multiplication of governmental agencies to aid the man on the street in his purchasing."[121] Closely attuned to the major social, economic and liberal policy direction America was about to take, the Rugg textbooks, created in the 1920s and used in the 1930s, certainly appeared to fit the social views of the times, at least for those who had adopted the liberal view of the positive welfare state. From the very beginning, Rugg seemed self-consciously aware of the liberal philosophical underpinnings of his social ideas and the new education. A new society was to be engineered by the new education under the leadership of "wise" educational philosophers. Closing his 1931 text, he said:

8. But the basis of the new age of planning is the new education

> The launching of far-reaching plans depends upon one fundamental step - education! The education of grown-ups! The education of young people! Already a new education is appearing in our progressive towns and cities. Under the leadership of wise educational philosophers and thousands of progressive teachers and administrators, new kinds of elementary and secondary schools are appearing. The spirit of these new schools is one of active work. Young people in them play an important part in every aspect of school work - in the work of the classes, in the various organizations, even in the government of the school. Thus they learn to live in a democracy by learning to govern themselves.[122]

By 1940 the social climate had changed. As the uncertainty of America's position with respect to the war raging in Europe combined with the growing recognition and awareness of the bloody repressive policies of the totalitarian states that had emerged in Russia, Germany, Italy and Japan, the notion of state planning and state authority had begun to lose its luster. In his own life, the average American witnessed a decline in personal freedom. As not only the welfare state emerged, but within that system the larger bureaucratic, corporate organization moved to manage and control production and consumption, more and more areas of personal freedom were eroded away. Under such circumstances that populist root of American consciousness which usually held a strong distrust of central government and eastern banking conglomerates came to the fore.[123] With America reflecting all kinds of insecurity and fears, the American Legion, the D.A.R. and others such as the Guardians of American Education, charged the frontier liberal thinkers at Columbia University with subversive activities. At this same time, while some, such as George S. Counts and John Dewey were carrying on strong anti-communist campaigns within the Teacher's Union,[124] the thrust of the anti-frontier-thinker campaign was directed at Rugg and his textbooks. Within the year, 1940, Rugg was not only publicly maligned and repeatedly refused the opportunity to speak in communities across the country, but his textbooks were effectively eliminated from the schools.[125]

Shortly after the Korean War truce was signed, another text for teaching high school social studies was published which was to become a landmark text for the 1960s. Lawrence E. Metcalf and Maurice P. Hunt, Teaching High School Social Studies (New York: Harper Bros., 1955), took as their central concern the development of the individual citizen's ability to think reflectively. Along with that focus went a special concern for the application of reflective thought to areas of American life that have tended to be controversial. These areas were termed "closed areas." Here, once again, the Table of Contents reflects this very different approach to citizenship education:

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	Part One The Problem of Method	
1.	Alternative Theories of Learning and the Democratic Ideal	
2.	Learning as Development of Insight	23
3.	The Reflective Method	50
4.	The Reflective Method (continued)	65
5.	Values and Reflection	89
6.	Techniques For Stimulating Reflection	108
7.	Climate Making as a Part of Method	130
8.	Discussion as a Tool of Reflective Learning	157
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9.	The Traditional Concept of Content	191
10.	A Proposal For Selection of Content In The Social Studies	214
11.	The Closed Areas: Economics	233
12.	The Closed Areas: Race and Minority-Group Relations	250
13.	The Closed Areas: Social Class	270
14.	The Closed Areas: Sex, Courtship, and Marriage	287
15.	The Closed Areas: Religion and Morality	305
16.	The Closed Areas: Nationalism, Patriotism, and National Institutions	323

Part Three
Special Problems

17. Adapting Reflective Method to the Standard Social-Studies Subjects 343
18. Materials of Instruction in the Social Studies 368
19. Evaluating the Results of Reflectively Oriented Teaching 396
20. Building and Maintaining Academic Freedom in the High School 431

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Unlike the "life adjustment" texts which placed a heavy emphasis on specific behaviors in terms of "how to" activities in virtually every aspect of life, the Metcalf-Hunt text emphasized reflective thinking. By this emphasis they were assuming that the most important characteristic of the citizen is his freedom to think clearly, accurately and critically as a prerequisite for decision-making and choice. They did not preclude or short circuit choice, as most behaviorists had done by advocating a social conditioning process, rather they placed their emphasis on how to think instead of what to think. Unlike Rugg and other reconstructionists who presented solutions to social problems in their texts, Metcalf and Hunt turned the student's attention to a critical examination of ways of viewing controversial areas, leaving open the final solution. While the discussion of closed areas is clearly limited by the liberal views of the authors, especially in the areas of economics and social class, and the alternatives are clearly liberal perceived choices, they still are choices.

Metcalf and Hunt knew very well that the use of this method presupposes a comunity which accepts the process. Therefore in the closing section of the book can be found an extensive discussion of the need for academic freedom in the high school. If, in fact, the method of reflective thinking is used effectively in education, it could undermine those social beliefs, attitudes, values and institutions based on existing arbitrary uses of power as Socrates knew. John

Dewey suggested as much when he said, "If we once start thinking no one can guarantee what will be the outcome except that many objects, ends and institutions will be surely doomed."[127] Just where the practitioners of this method stop short of taking the hemlock is usually determined by the way the reality of social issues are structured. The liberal's social ideas set the boundaries and are, in fact, the limiting dimension of what constitutes reflective thought. To the extent that those in power feel secure with those limits is the extent to which they will permit the use of the method of reflective thinking.

The underlying philosophy which permits this approach is, as the authors contend, that of Dewey, Bode, Hullfish and Griffin.[128] One might further surmise that they perhaps have taken the best, especially of Dewey and Bode, to delineate their position. It was, after all, Dewey's contention in The Public and Its Problems, (1927) that "method" was the key to the development of his dream of a free public. One of the many problems with this liberal philosophy, as it was applied to the social issues of the time, was not only the problem of where that philosophy intersected with power but the extent to which the liberal reconstruction of democracy and positive freedom could be used to move easily from the conception of a positive liberal state to a modern totalitarian state. In this regard, Metcalf and Hunt, in placing the emphasis on method and keeping open the idea of choice, not only developed the best in Dewey's liberalism, but stopped short of the totalitarian conception of the state which tends to dominate much of the current literature in citizenship education. The Metcalf-Hunt work, then, can be viewed as a kind of benchmark from which others in the 1960's and 1970's have worked.

In the decades of the sixties and seventies a variety of citizenship education proposals were created out of the curriculum development centers at Teachers College Columbia, Amherst, University of Southern California at Los Angeles,

Carnegie-Mellon, Harvard, Indiana, Tufts and others. The overall basis and direction of these proposals would require a comprehensive research project in itself. Our analysis, here, is therefore limited to only a few of the broader tendencies which tend to cut across many different proposals in the area of citizenship education.

Many social studies educators in the schools in the 1960s tended to follow Edgar Wesley's definition of social studies as "the social sciences simplified for pedagogical purposes."[129] They generally thought of social studies in terms of geography, history, economics, sociology and civics, and/or a variety of combination of subjects. Still others moved away from the disciplines, as Edward Krug and I. James Quillen did in Living In Our Communities.[130] This text was an outcome of Krug's and Quillen's involvement in the Stanford 5 year Social Education Study financed by the General Education Board. Living in Our Communities came fairly close to a modified life adjustment approach. An analysis of this text reveals, for example a thirty page chapter devoted to "Having a Good Time" as opposed to two pages devoted to describing the federal judicial system. On the other side, the work of Jerome S. Brunner in The Process of Education, emphasizing the "discovery method" as well as Edwin Fenton's work in the 1960s which utilized a "mode of inquiry" approach seemed to cut closer to the traditional disciplines than Hunt and Metcalf had done.

By the late 1960s political scientists began to once again become more actively interested in the public schools and produced a variety of literature on the political socialization of children.[131] While much of this literature and research has produced some interesting and helpful material on how children learn political concepts, for the most part, these studies are basically descriptive surveys of what was taking place at a given time. They are not experimental, exercising rigid controls and therefore, can be relied on only as suggestive of what was going on. To universalize these findings is a serious mistake. For example, to say that all children can conceptualize the principles

in the Declaration of Independence at a given grade level because our sample of 1,500 cases indicates this to be true, and therefore we ought to create a curriculum program accordingly, is to commit the same error which curricular experts in education in the 1920-1950s did when they universalized their findings based on limited samples. However, even if the sample is adequate, the problem of confusing what is with what can be, and indeed, what ought to be, remains. A double error is thus committed when one proposes that study of the principles of freedom ought to be restricted to a particular age level when, first of all, such proposals are based on questionable sampling procedures, and secondly, even if the procedures are sound, the static descriptive nature of the study of what is does not and cannot describe what could be. Only a carefully worked-through and controlled experimental study can answer that question. Most of the political socialization literature falls into these areas of description and therefore should only be taken as suggestive.

This problem is further compounded when some, such as Lawrence Kohlberg, confuse conceptual development with a prefabricated hierarchical scheme of moral development. The mistake is further compounded when Edwin Fenton claims that, "These stages are natural steps in ethical development, not something artificial or invented."[132] Invoking the support of "nature" to what amounts to a very shaky theory without hard experimental evidence is to say the very least, highly questionable. While Kohlberg's work is heuristically interesting and suggestive of more careful and critically controlled research and experimentation, the credibility of research at the present level hardly warrants building a social studies curriculum around it as Fenton proposes. To do so, it seems, is to succumb to the band wagon effect which so often has caricatured curricular efforts in this area in the past.

There are a number of political socialization studies which are suggestive and do warrant further more extensive, intensive treatment. One such study was that which was done by Edgar Litt, entitled, "Civic Education, Community Norms,

and Political Indoctrination."[133] Looking at the citizenship education program in a working class community in comparison to a middle class and an upper class, affluent community, he discovered that there appeared to be significant differences in educational treatment, especially when it came to the level and kind of participation. While this study does not provide sufficient empirical evidence upon which to make curricular judgments at this time, it does support the judgment that many observers in the schools have made with respect to their suspicions, that a differentiated curriculum in this area does, in fact, exist. If such a situation exists, steps ought to be taken to counteract such a condition.[134] I further suspect that a comprehensive historical research project in this area of citizenship education is likely to reveal that we have been using a class differentiated curriculum for some time.

VIII

Educating the Man or the Citizen?

Richard Remy in "The Challenge of Citizenship Education," concluded his summary, in part, by remarking,

> The task of citizenship education in a democracy involves paradoxes. Can such education instill orientations supportive of American democracy and also teach critical thinking skills? Can such education teach participation skills which are both effective and acceptable to the majority of citizens and their representatives in government?[135]

The paradox he found came to the fore in the Vietnam War protests and the civil rights movement when effective participation required "violation of generally held norms for acceptable citizen action."[136] This problem is necessarily paradoxical only when one ultimately holds divided loyalities to the individual and the state. There is no paradox when one holds that one's ultimate loyalty is to the individual, as Humboldt and John Stuart Mill argued, "The grand, leading principle, towards which every argument hitherto unfolded in these pages directly converges, is the absolute and essential importance of human development in its richest diversity." Or, as Thoreau put it, "I think that we should be men first, and subjects afterwards. It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for law, so much as for the right." Or, as Martin Luther King said in his letter from the Birmingham jail, that respect ought to be paid to the right law, the just law, but not to the unjust law. How does one determine the difference?

> An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law. To put it in the terms of Saint Thomas Aquinas: An unjust law is a human law that is not rooted in eternal and natural law. Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust.[137]

There was no paradoxical problem here. The appeal was to a higher law than the state law and the test of that law was human dignity.

Without oversimplifying a very difficult and complicated process, one should recognize that there is a very different conception of citizenship at work here.

The individual and state are not balanced as equals, but rather the state is only a necessary expedient against which one must forever be on guard. The right of revolution, indeed ultimately violent revolution, must be preserved in this conception of citizenship. No state ought to have ironclad guarantees that its citizenry will not take up arms against it. The citizen, as Jefferson argued, ought to be so educated as to recognize tyranny and be able to revolt against it. To be sure, the price of revolution is costly and as a rule, people do not take up arms against their government for light, transitory reasons, as Jefferson wrote in the Declaration of Independence. The right of revolution, as a last resort, however, must be preserved. Given, then, the ideas of citizenship that Humboldt beautifully analyzed in The Limits of State Action and the ideas reflected by John Stuart Mill, Thoreau, Emerson, Martin Luther King and many others, one cannot help recognizing, when looking at the course of American history, that America has witnessed a profound expansive development in the power of the state over the individual. While one might recognize the political, social, economic and practical problems that have given rise to the expansion of those powers, and at times seemed to justify that expansion, one might also recognize the tenuous, problematic nature of individual freedom today. As America moved from a merchant state to an industrial state, we created a corporate liberal, positive state which has produced, in the name of social welfare, a conception of the relationship between the individual and the state which no longer paradoxically balances the individual and the state as many liberals, such as Richard Remy have done, but more often conceives of the right of the state as being so superior that there can be seen no reasonable grounds upon which the state educational authority ought to be limited. Thus, the state is given a free hand to manipulate its citizens in education to whatever extent the market will bear. Without a guiding educational, philosophical ideal, the end comes to justify the

means as drugs, "time-out," solitary confinement boxes, as well as all kinds of psychic manipulation techniques take their place in the schools.

Earlier in the century, Charles Edward Merriam, a leading liberal reformer of citizenship education programs, argued that our new knowledge of personality development must be used in the schools because, in the end, all knowledge is useful to the race. As he saw it, one should not take a stand against progress. In 1931, before Buchenwald, Dachau, Belsen, Hiroshima and My Lai, he wrote,

> It may be said that an unscrupulous or corrupt government endowed with these far-reaching powers to shape personality might inflict incalculable injury upon the race and set it far back. But the same argument may be made as to high explosives of any sort, capable of use against the very intelligence that unearthed their secret. The inventions of mechanism either material or of social and political control will not stop because they may be turned to anti-social uses; for in the long run the assumption must be that they are useful for the race.[138]

Merriam had crossed over rather early to a totalitarian view of the individual and the state when he said,

> The anti-social and non-or apolitical types are a central problem in political and social education, and they cannot be omitted in any scheme of political education whether in the school or without it. It is not merely the enemy or the criminal outlaw who obstructs the development of orderly relations of co-operation among men, but also the type who is neither; who may be called a disorganizer, a nonconductor, a resistant to the general process of socialization. How to deal with him, and how to integrate him into the political community without destroying the individuality and the eccentricity that may border upon genius, is one of the central problems of modern social and political education; and unless this is solved, relatively little progress can be made in other directions. This is the limiting factor in the construction of the citizen.[139]

The citizen's personality must be constructed so that he fits into the "democratic" community. His thinking must be engineered so that he will become a valued contributor to the community. Edward Bernays, once honored by the American Psychological Association for his contribution to science and society reflected a similar totalitarian view in 1947 when he said that engineering of consent,

> . . .quite simply means the application of scientific principles and tried practices to the task of getting people to support ideas and programs. . . .The engineering of consent is the very essence of the democratic process, the freedom to persuade and suggest . . . . A leader frequently cannot wait for the people to arrive at even general understanding. . . .democratic leaders must play their part in. . . .engineering. . . .consent to socially constructive goals and values.[140]

Within the contexts of the decline of both the classical and Judeo-Christian traditions, and a corresponding emergence of the compulsory secular state, the notion of the totalitarian society was born. With it a new totalitarian person was born whose satisfactions, wants, feelings, ideas, indeed whose very will was to be engineered. In the process, words were made to take on new and different meanings. Freedom meant control while a word like democracy no longer meant rule by the people, but rather how human beings came to relate to each other in groups. Participation was to be measured effective not on the basis of real political difference such participation achieved, but by the psychological feeling of belonging that it produced in the participants. The problem of freedom and integrity of the individual in the modern totalitarian world is profoundly difficult, and thus, the education of the citizen in such a world is no less difficult. Erich Fromm capsulated the problem when he said that,

> . . .in a successful manipulation of the mind the person is no longer saying the opposite of what he thinks, but he thinks the opposite of what is true. Thus, for instance, if he has surrendered his independence and his integrity completely, if he experiences himself as a thing which belonges either to the state, the party or the corporation, then two plus two are five, or 'Slavery is Freedom,' and he feels free because there is no longer any awareness of the discrepancy between truth and falsehood.[141]

Given the conditions of the modern world, Rousseau might have been correct when he said, "Forced to combat either nature or society, you must make your choice between the man and the citizen, you cannot train both." Perhaps Humboldt was even more correct when he said, "The grand, leading principle, towards which every argument hitherto unfolded in these pages directly converges, is the absolute and essential importance of human development in its richest diversity."

FOOTNOTES

[1]Jean Jacques Rousseau, Emile, trans. by Barbara Foxley. (London: J. M. Dent, 1957), p. 7.

[2]Richard McKeon, Introduction to Aristotle. (New York: Modern Library, 1947), p. 616.

[3]See Edward H. Reisner, Nationalism and Education Since 1789. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1922).

[4]Wilhelm von Humboldt, The Limits of State Action, edited with an introduction by J. W. Burrow. (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. ix.

[5]Lawrence A. Cremin, ed. The Republic and the School: Horace Mann. (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1957), p. 55.

[6]Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Addresses to the German Nation. (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1968), p. 17.

[7]As quoted by J.A.R. Marriot and Charles Grant Robertson, The Evolution of Prussia. (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1965), p. 229.

[8]Ibid., p. 229.

[9]Fichte, Addresses to the German Nation, p. 163.

[10]Reisner, Nationalism and Education, p. 140.

[11]Humboldt, The Limits of State Action, p. 16.

[12]Ibid., p. 28.

[13]Ibid., p. 28.

[14]Ibid., pp. 20-21. (Underlining is in original.)

[15]Ibid., p. 51.

[16]Ibid., p. 22.

[17]Ibid., p. 23.

[18]Ibid., p. 24.

[19]Ibid., p. 32.

[20]Ibid., p. 33.

[21]Ibid., pp. 51-52.

[22]See Ibid., pp. 53-54, as well as John Stuart Mill, On Liberty. (London: Everyman's Library, 1968), p. 161.

[23]Henry David Thoreau, Walden and Civil Disobedience. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1960), p. 235.

[24]Ibid., p. 236.

[25]See J. R. Seeley, Life and Times of Stein, Vol. II. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), pp. 426-433. Also see Reisner, Nationalism and Education.

[26]Marriott and Robertson, The Evolution of Prussia, pp. 228-229.

[27]Humboldt, The Limits of State Action, p. 132.

[28]Ibid., p. 138.

[29]Ibid., p. 137

[30]Ibid., p. 135.

[31]Rousseau, Emile, p. 8.

[32]See Albert Jay Mock, Our Enemy, The State. (New York: Free Life Editions, 1973), p. 61.

[33]As quoted by Ibid., p. 57.

[34]P. L. Ford, Works of Thomas Jefferson (New York, 1904), IV, p. 86.

[35]Jefferson's ideas with respect to blacks were thoroughly racist. See Winthrop D. Jordan, White Over Black. (Baltimore: Penguin Books 1969), pp. 429-491.

[36]Gordon C. Lee, Crusade Against Ignorance. (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1967), p. 81.

[37]Julian P. Boyd, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), pp. xii, 356.

[38]Public system, here, is meant to mean a system which is both publicly supported and publicly controlled.

[39]Lee, Crusade Against Ignorance, p. 86.

[40]See Ibid., p. 133.

[41]Ibid., p. 133.

[42]Ibid., p. 68.

[43]See Jordan, White Over Black.

[44]See R. Freeman Butts, "The New England Primer Reflects Changing Political and Religious Doctrine." Unpublished paper.

[45]See Monica Kiefer, American Children Through Their Books, 1700-1835. (Philadelphia: Univ. of Penn. Press, 1948). Also see Ruth Miller Elson, Guardians of Tradition: American Schoolbooks of the Nineteenth Century. (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1964).

[46]Noah Webster, American Speller, undated. University of Rochester Treasure Room, Rochester, New York.

[47]See Barbara Berman, "Fortress: Public School Professional and Social Objectives, 1830-1890," Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1975, University of Rochester, Rochester, New York.

[48]As quoted by Ibid., p. 258.

[49]As quoted by Clarence J. Karier, Man, Society and Education. (Chicago: Scott Foresman, 1967), p. 51.

[50]Cremin, The Republic and the School, p. 87.

[51]Ibid., p. 87.

[52]Ibid., p. 59.

[53]Ibid., p. 97.

[54]Ibid., p. 97.

[55]Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, it was Catholic and Jewish groups who objected to this practice and often brought suit in state courts to prevent it.

[56]Ralph Waldo Emerson, The Complete Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson. (New York: Wm. H. Wise and Co., 1929), p. 139.

[57]As quoted by Eric Bentley, Are You Now Or Have You Ever Been? (New York: Harper, 1972).

[58]Thoreau, Walden and Civil Disobedience, p. 236.

[59]Ibid., p. 237.

[60]Charles Forcey, The Crossroads of Liberalism. (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1961) p. xiv.

[61]The National Civic Federation was one such organization. See James Weinstein, The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State 1900-1918. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968). Also see Gabriel Kolko, The Triumph of Conservatism: A Reinterpretation of American History 1900-1916. (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963). For the general social conditions of the time, see R. H. Wiebe, The Search For Order. (New York: Hill & Wang, 1967).

[62]Paul Violas, The Training of the Urban Working Class. (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1978).

[63]Ibid., p. 38.

[64]See Clarence J. Karier, "John Dewey and the New Liberalism: Some Reflections and Responses" History of Education Quarterly, Winter 1975.

[65]Violas, The Training of the Urban Working Class, p. 42.

[66] Ibid., p. 55

[67] As quoted by Ibid., p. 61. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Naturalization, 1916.

[68] As quoted by Ibid., p. 63.

[69] For a history of the high school, see Edward Krug, The Shaping of the American High School. Vol. I. (New York: Harper Bros., 1964) and Edward Krug, The Shaping of the American High School, Vol. II. (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1972).

[70] U.S. Office of Education, Biennial Survey of Education: 1946-48. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1950) Chap. I, Statistical Summary, p. 32.

[71] As quoted by Morris Robert Lewenstein, "An Analysis of Some Concepts of Citizenship Education," Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, 1953.

[72] See Cardinal Principles of Education, U.S. Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1918, No. 55 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), pp. 10-11.

[73] Ibid., p. 13.

[74] As quoted by Lewenstein, "An Analysis of Some Concepts of Citizenship Education," p. 37.

[75] Policies For Education In American Democracy, Educational Policies Commission, Washington, D.C., N.E.A. 1946, p. 193.

[76] As quoted by Lewenstein, p. 38 from National Association of Secondary School Principals, "The Imperative Needs of Youth," Bulletin, Vol. 31, No. 145, March, 1947, p. 2. (underlining in original)

[77] For a thorough and insightful analysis of the role of sports in the high school curriculum, see Tim O'Hanlon, "The Good Citizen as Team Player; Interscholastic Athletics and the Shaping of a Meritocratic Consciousness," Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, 1978.

[78] For an analysis of some of the early character education movements in the twentieth century, see Stephen Yulish, "The Search for a Civic Religion: A History of the Character Education Movement in America, 1890 - 1935," Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, 1975.

[79] For example, see John B. Watson's discussion of free speech in Behaviorism. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930), p. 303. Also see B. F. Skinner's discussion of the subject in his more recent book, Beyond Freedom & Dignity. (New York: Bantam Books, 1972).

[80] B. F. Skinner, Science and Human Behavior. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1956), p. 447.

[81]See George H. Mead, Mind Self and Society. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press). George H. Mead, The Philosophy of the Present, ed. Arthur E. Murphy (Chicago; The Open Court Pub. Co. 1932). George H. Mead, The Philosophy of the Act, ed. Charles W. Morris (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1938). Also see John Dewey Human Nature and Conduct. (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1922)

[82]Dewey, Human Nature and Conduct, p. 311.

[83]See Watson, Behaviorism, p. 303.

[84]See Karier, Man, Society and Education, p. 135.

[85]See Clarence J. Karier, Paul Violas, and Joel Spring, Roots of Crisis. (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1973).

[86]See John Dewey, Individualism Old and New. (New York: Minton, Balch & Co., 1930).

[87]See Clarence J. Karier, "Making the World Safe for Democracy," Educational Theory, Vol. 27, Number 1, Winter 1977.

[88]For a more thorough analysis of the way Dewey used this concept, see an unpublished paper by David Hogan and Clarence Karier, "Democracy as Organic Community," University of Illinois, 1977.

[89]John Dewey, Impressions of Soviet Russia. (New York: New Republic Inc., 1929), pp. 105-106.

[90]For a more complete analysis see Hogan and Karier, "Democracy as Organic Community."

[91]See Violas, The Training of the Urban Working Class and Joel Spring, The Sorting Machine. (New York: David McKay Co. Inc., 1976).

[92]John Dewey, Liberalism and Social Action. (New York: Capricorn Books, 1935), p. 71.

[93]John Dewey: The Early Works, 1882-1898, Vol. 1: 1882-1898 (Carbondale and Edwardsville, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, and London and Amsterdam: Feffer and Simons, Inc., 1969), p. 234.

[94]N.E.A., Policies For Education in American Democracy. (Washington: N.E.A. of the U.S., 1946), p. 142, G.S. Counts, "The Education of Free Men In American Democracy."

[95]The president, the vice-president and most of his cabinet belong to this Commission.

[96]Michel J. Crozier, Samuel P. Huntington, Joji Watanuki, The Crisis of Democracy. (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1975), p. 114.

[97]Ibid., p. 115.

[98]As quoted by I. James Quillen and Lavone A. Hanna, Education For Social Competence. (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1948), p. 22.

[99]Vernon E. Jones, Character and Citizenship Education; A Syllabus for Use in Teacher Training. (Washington: National Education Association, 1950), p. 2.

[100]American Legion, Americanism Manual (Indianapolis, American Legion, 1952) p. 7, as quoted by Lewenstein, p. 102.

[101]John W. Studebaker, "Communism's Challenge to American Education," School Life, xxx (Feb. 1948), p. 1 as quoted by Lewenstein, p. 104.

[102]Philip H. Falk, "Citizen Training in the Schools," (Wisconsin Journal of Education, LXXX January 1948), p. 257, as quoted by Lewenstein, p. 104.

[103]As quoted by Lewenstein, p. 105.

[104]The Jehovah's Witnesses interpret Exodus 20:4-5 of the Bible literally. While they may respect what the flag stands for, they cannot salute it because such an act is deemed as bowing down before graven images.

[105]There were, however, some differences: the Minersville Case of 1940 involved a local board, while the Barnette Case of 1943 involved a state law which carried explicit penalties for those who violated the law.

[106]Leo Pfieffer, The Liberties of an American: The Supreme Court Speaks. (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1963), p. 51.

[107]One is reminded, here, that the real test of religious tolerance of a community, like a test of individual character, is not what one does to the powerful individual or group that has the means to fight back but what one does to the weak who cannot defend themselves. The question, then, is not how much freedom the politically powerful religious groups exercise but rather how much freedom the politically weak religious groups have within that society. In the 1830's, it was the Roman Catholic who was in the position of threatening the community and getting his churches burned. A century later, in the 1940s, the Jehovah's Witnesses were in a similar position. The main defense this religious sect has had against local community attacks has been the federal courts. Thus, between 1938 and 1950, the Jehovah's Witnesses have been involved in over twenty major cases concerning religious liberty. See Spurlock, Education and the Supreme Court, p. 101. Perhaps the real test of the American sense of religious tolerance is not whether we can elect a Catholic president but rather what we have been doing to the Witnesses within our communities.

[108]West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette, 319 U.S. 624,63 Sup. Ct. 1189-1190 (1943).

[109]West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette, pp. 1186-1187.

[110]West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette, p. 1187.

[111]See Pfieffer, Liberties of an American, p. 89, also see Pfeiffer, Church, State and Freedom, pp. 524-528. This mixture of freedom of speech and freedom of religion has further complicated this issue. Can a state compel a student to salute the flag if he objects on other than religious grounds? New York State has a compulsory flag salute law (Chap. 874-No. 801 and 802 of the N. Y. laws of 1963), which requires a daily flag salute. According to the State's Attorney General, Opinion of Counsel No. 135, April 8, 1964 the school board may coerce all children to salute the flag except those who object on religious grounds. The constitutionality of this practice is yet to be tested.

[112]See "Student Government Service" National Council for Social Studies, Developing Citizenship Through School Activities, Bulletin, 22, ed. by Laura M. Shufelt (Washington: The Council 1949) Chap. II, pp. 10-31, for a discussion of the use of the home room for mental health.

[113]It had its strongest exponents in men like Franklin Bobbitt, see How to Make a Curriculum. (Boston, 1924) also The Curriculum (Boston 1918) and the influential activities of Charles A. Prosser in both vocational and civic education. See Violas, The Training of the Urban Working Class; Edward Krug, The Shaping of the American High School, Vol. 1; and Spring, The Sorting Machine, also Education and The Rise of the Corporate State. (Boston: Beacon Press., 1972)

[114]Claude E. Crawford, Ethel G. Cooley, C. C. Trillingham, Emery Stoops, Living Your Life. (New York: D.C. Heath Co., 1953), pp. v-xiv.

[115]Harold Rugg, An Introduction to Problems of American Culture. (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1931),

[116]Ibid., p. 93.

[117]Ibid., p. 125.

[118]Harold Rugg, Our Country and Our People. (New York: Ginn & Co., 1938), pp. 540-541. Underlining for emphasis is in the original.

[119]Rugg, An Introduction to Problems of American Culture, p. 594.

[120]Ibid., p. 598.

[121]Ibid., p. 603.

[122]Ibid., p. 605.

[123]Perry Miller in American Thought: Civil War to World War I (New York: Rinehart and Co., 1959) P. xxx, once suggested that America has never really decided between the classical individualism as reflected in the works of William Graham Sumner as opposed to the new liberal scientific collectivism of Lester F. Ward. Perhaps he was right.

[124]See Robert W. Iversen, The Communist and the Schools. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1959)

[125]For a sample of the kind of attack which was carried on, see Augustan Rudd, Hamilton Hicks, Alfred T. Falk, Undermining Our Republic. (New York: Guardians of American Education, 1940).

[126]Maurice P. Hunt and Lawrence E. Metcalf, Teaching High School Social Studies. (New York: Harper Bros, 1955),pp. v-vi.

[127]John Dewey, Character and Events. Vol. I (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1929) p. 1.

[128]Hunt and Metcalf, Teaching High School Social Studies, p. xii.

[129]As quoted by Quillen and Hanna, Education For Social Competence, p. 16.

[130]Edward Krug and I. James Quillen, Living in Our Communities. (Chicago: Scott Foresman & Co., 1946).

[131]See for example Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children. (Chicago: Aldine Press, 1967); David Easton, Jack Dennis, Children in the Political System. (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1969); Jack Dennis, Socialization to Politics, A Reader. (New York: John Wiley, 1973); Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969); Richard M. Merelman, Political Socialization and Educational Climates. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971); Kenneth P. Langton, Political Socialization. (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1969) and Norman Adler and Charles Harrington, The Learning of Political Behavior. (Chicago: Scott Foresman Co., 1970).

[132]B. Frank Brown, Education For Responsible Citizenship: The Report of the National Task Force on Citizenship Education. (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1977), p. 101. Underlining for emphasis added.

[133]Reprinted in Adler and Harrington, The Learning of Political Behavior, pp. 163-169.

[134]It is interesting to note that recommendation number 3 of the Committee which produced Education for Responsible Citizenship was that, ". . .in all schoolactivities dealing with civic competence, and school-directed community experiences, students should be associated heterogeneously." Here, one suspects the committee is assuming this condition to exist and is responding to it.

[135]Citizen Education Today Draft, A report of the U. S. Office of Education to identify the challenge of citizen education in contemporary America, p. 31.

[136]Ibid., p. 30.

[137]Martin Luther King, Jr., Why We Can't Wait. (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 85.

[138]Charles Edward Merriam, The Making of Citizens. (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1931), p. 334.

[139]Ibid., p. 330.

[140]As quoted from Naom Chomsky, Huizinga Lecture, Leiden, Germany, December 9, 1977.

[141]George Orwell, 1984, with an afterword by Erich Fromm. (New York: The New American Library, 1961), p. 265.

Appendix 3

MAJOR COLLOQUIUM PAPER

"Education for Citizenship," by Marvin Lazerson

EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP

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Professor of Education
University of British Columbia

April 11, 1978

EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP

Marvin Lazerson*

> There is probably no better place than a schoolroom to judge of the character of a people....Whatever faults or weaknesses may be entailed upon them, will show themselves there without the hypocrisy of advanced age, and whatever virtue they may possess is reflected without admixture of vice and corruption. In so humble a place as a schoolroom may be read the commentaries on the past, and the history of the future development of a nation.
>
> Francis J. Grund, 1837

Introduction

Americans have never been comfortable with the concept of pluralism. On the one hand they admit that their society is heterogeneous, built upon different peoples with different cultural backgrounds. Indeed, it is this diversity, they claim, which has made America strong, given it the flexibility and vitality to meet new challenges and conquer new worlds. But their treatment of diversity has always been conditional and tempered. Diversity is acceptable only as it contributes to unity and common citizenship. It must conform to established patterns of behaviour or enter the melting pot to be shaped to an American identity. If individuals could be different, their eccentricity acceptable in a society which applauded individualism, groups could not. A society built and dependent upon heterogeneity has tended to reject a conceptual framework for allowing group differences to flourish. America has been a pluralist society refusing to acknowledge the meaning of its own pluralism.

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Since the American Revolution, schools have played an important role in reflecting and shaping these views of citizenship. Popular education and citizenship, schooling and social cohesion have gone hand in hand. The expansion of educational opportunity was deemed essential to the fibre of democratic life, enhancing the republic by teaching individuals the essentials of citizenship and forging common values among heterogenous people. Unlike eighteenth and nineteenth century Europeans, Americans did not debate whether education for the masses was a good thing, but rather assumed that it was necessary. Whereas Englishmen conflicted over whether education would unfit the lower classes for their occupational and subservient social roles, Americans assumed that education was essential for a republic to function. About education, one historian has noted of the early nineteenth century, there was a "wide-spread consensus among American elites about its desirability. Unlike the English Tories, conservative Americans generally advocated schooling for social stability. They feared ignorance, not instruction. The more skeptical they were about the survival of the republic, the more they favoured mass education." (Kaestle, 1976)

The consensus that schooling was a good thing was intensified during periods of social and economic instability, at times when traditional institutions like the family and church seemed less effective socializers than previously. Where morality seemed in decline, where class or ethnic conflict was developing, the school had a role as an agent of stabilization. Schooling was thus essential to citizenship and crucial to the development of moral character for social stability.

But schooling has also been viewed as a means of social mobility, a partially destabilizing process. Especially after the mid-nineteenth century, educational opportunity and economic advancement were conceived of as synonymous. What was learned in school, behavioral and attitudinal traits, literacy, or occupational skills furthered economic progress for the individual and society. Certain that schools were necessary for social stability. Americans also viewed them as vehicles of social opportunity, the means whereby sons did better than their father, daughters achieved more than their mothers, and the children of minorities surmounted their limitations, and discriminations against their group. Schools have thus been supported because they are believed crucial to political socialization and economic advancement; they preserve the social order by converting differences into commonalities, questions of social reform and the distribution of economical rewards into educational problems. Reforming the school and providing greater opportunities to attend school have become the dominant American response to social instability and to ethnic, class, and racial tensions.

While faith in schooling has been widespread, the consensus has always been beset by conflicts and ambiguities. What political homogeneity meant and how to educate for it have always been open to question. Not until the twentieth century was schooling thought essential enough for all states to make attendance compulsory. Ethnic groups have been at odds with governmental and educational authorities over the teaching of alternative cultural values, often centering on the questions of bilingualism and biculturalism. When applied to black slaves, education in the decade before the Civil War was seen by Southern whites as destabilizing; they rejected the

the idea that schooling for blacks enhanced social stability. Instead, they argued, education would unfit blacks for their place in the social hierarchy. For women, citizenship was often tied to "domesticity." Women were less citizens than the mothers of future citizens whose role was to protect the home, succur the male, and rear children. Social class differences have also caused divisions over the types of education to be offered. and over the benefits to be derived from expanding educational opportunity. Questions have been raised over who should control the schools,and what curriculum and pedagogy best teach citizenship and assure economic advancement. Although often argued in political and pedagogical terms, these conflicts went beyond questions of schooling, for they touched fundamental assumptions about the United States as a melting pot, the nature of opportunity in American society, and the role of formal education in the creation of citizens.

The Forging of Citizenship Education

Although it had received attention earlier, the expected relationship between citizenship and education was most explicitly formulated following the American Revolution. On one level the Revolution had been, as John Adams believed, effected before the outbreak of war, an event already "created in the minds and hearts of the people." At another level, the process of creating and fighting the Revolution created a cultural cause. The Committees of Correspondence, the Sons of Liberty, the handbills, pamphlets, and newspapers taught the colonists what it meant to be American. (Cremin, 1977)

But independence and a sense of being American stood alongside the tenuousness of the experiment in republican government, and revolutionary leaders turned to forging institutional structures to insure social stability and cultural unity. "We have changed our forms of government," wrote Benjamin Rush, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, "but it remains yet to effect a revolution in principles, opinions, and manners so as to accommodate them to the forms of government we have adopted." (Tyack, 1967)

The accommodation took place in a variety of ways: new constitutional structures at the federal and state levels, the forging of political parties, an ideology of equality for whites and slavery for blacks, a search for a peculiarly American culture. Schools, too, had a special role in the dissemination of republican citizenship. By 1800 seven of the fourteen states that adopted new constitutions had provided for public aid to education, while the American Philosophical Society ran a contest in 1795 on proposals for a national system of education. An "American-centered" education was urged on the populace. George Washington and Thomas Jefferson opposed European study as leading not only to "habits of dissipation and extravagance, but [to] principals unfriendly to republic government, and to the true and genuine liberties of mankind." In his last annual message to Congress in 1796, Washington proposed a national university under federal sponsorship to train the nation's leaders, and he ultimately bequeathed land for that purpose. The state of Georgia took steps to reduce foreign study and thus alien influences when in 1785 it disbarred from civic office for an equivalent number of years anyone who had studied abroad. Old World textbooks met similar hostility. Such books, Noah Webster, America's first major textbook

author, wrote, would "stamp the wrinkles of decrepit age upon the bloom of youth and...plant the seeds of decay in a vigorous constitution." (Tyack, 1967)

Fear of Old World contamination, the call for a distinctive American character based on an American language and literature, was reinforced by the notion that a republic placed greater responsibilities upon the individual. A society dependent upon the franchise would always be menaced by an ignorant and unsocialized citizenry. Education, Jefferson wrote, was thus "the most certain and most legitimate engine of government. Educate and inform the whole mass of the people, enable them to see that it is their interest to preserve peace and order, and they will preserve it, and it requires no very high degree of education to convince them of this." (Welter, 1962) The educational necessities varied. Noah Webster believed the need was for a national identity through a national language. Benjamin Rush found that "the form of government we have assumed," required us to lay "foundations for nurseries of wise and good men, to adapt our modes of teaching to the peculiar form of our government." A prize-winning essay in 1795 on the most suitable plan of education concluded that a national curriculum should be developed with uniform texts, lessons, fees, and administrative procedures. "An entire, general uniform national plan" would produce "not only harmony of sentiments, unity of taste and manners, but also, the patriotic principles of genuine Federalism amongst the scattered and variegated citizens of this extensive republic." (Rudolph, 1965)

Such proposals reflected a belief in youthful malleability. Drawing upon ideas made current by John Locke, Americans defended the necessity

for early education as a sure means of socialization. "The principle of patriotism stands in need of the reinforcement of prejudice, and it is well known that our strongest prejudices in favour of our country are formed in the first one and twenty years of our lives," Rush asserted. Noah Webster reaffirmed that argument: "The impressions received in early life, usually form the characters of individuals." (Tyack, 1967)

These concerns--the uniqueness and tenuousness of the American experiment, the need to escape from Old World Corruptions, to establish a unified nation and a national character, and the expectation that youthful experiences shaped later behavior and beliefs--fostered numerous proposals for institutions to assure the creation of patriotic citizens. Although a national system of education was never formalized--the Revolution after all had been fought against the expansion of state power--schools themselves took on greater significance. Whether one viewed universal suffrage and republican government with pessimism or optimism, schools seemed excellent agents of political socialization. The concern was neither unique to America nor a unique function of schooling. European countries in the process of nationalization showed similar interests. Between 1763 and 1797 France engaged in numerous debates over a national identity. Pleas for a uniquely American literature, art, and architecture were common. But increasingly the school became a focus for patriotism, the institution where individuals would learn how to become citizens.

This was one of the great innovations of the nineteenth century. During the colonial era, Americans had viewed schooling in much less exal_ed terms, as part of a configuration of educational institutions within which children

and youth were socialized. Seventeenth century English colonists had arrived in the new world with the understanding that schools were important to the advancement of literacy, social mobility, and religious enthusiasm. But they also assumed that the family was the primary educator; in an economy which saw work organized around the household and family farm, youth learned their essential social roles within families, one's own as well as someone else's. The church's role as educator was subordinate to the family, but was nonetheless essential in a society in which religious beliefs and denominational distinctions were important. Through the church, public and private responsibility were blended together, the moral values of the community transmitted and upheld. Schools were considered more marginal in these educational endeavors. Most children never attended school; most of those who did went for brief periods to learn a bit of reading and writing. To a very small but increasing number of sixteenth and seventeenth century English youth, however, schools were a route to economic and social success, a development not lost on the colonial settlers. (Cremin, 1970)

The tranference of English institutions to the colonies and their transformation varied from place to place. New England Puritan villages fostered mutually reinforcing educational institutions in ways that the dispersed Virginia population or the heterogenous cities of New York and Philadelphia could not. As the immigration of non-English peoples multiplied, the pattern of English institutions was itself challenged. Pennsylvania Germans, for example, threatened English Quakers and Anglicans forcing compromises around questions of schooling and church allegiances. Denominational

competition forced an uneasy acceptance of voluntarism in religion, the freedom of individuals to affiliate with the church of their choice without government coercion. But for all the complexities of socialization in seventeenth and eighteenth century America, one theme stands out: the expectation that children and youth would learn their social roles as "citizens" through the interaction of familial and community institutions. While schools increased in number and importance in the decades before the Revolution, they were usually extensions of church responsibilities, adjuncts to apprenticeships, agents of charity to the poor, or, less often, the organized wishes of homogenous communities. Youth might go to school, but before the nineteenth century, there was little expectation that what was learned there was strikingly different from or more important than what was learned in other parts of the community.

Protestantism and Patriotism

The expansion of and systemization of schooling after 1800 was closely tied to an emerging consensus on the importance of Protestantism to national identity. Although Americans had no formal state religion--the heterogeneity and competitiveness of religious denominations had forced them to reject a state supported church--they nonetheless expected their society to be religious, and Protestant. Freedom from the coercion of an established church, it was argued, would allow each individual to voluntarily choose his or her religious affiliation. With denominations flourishing by choice, individuals would be affected more intensively by religion than had previously been tru . Although the jeremiads and revivals of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries revealed

considerable concern over whether religion was indeed advancing, most Americans by 1820 accepted the assumptions underlying disestablishment and voluntary church organizations and there was never any perceptible movement toward an established church.

Voluntarism, however, confused the means whereby the young would be inculcated with religious and ethical values. It raised questions about how institutions outside the family would teach morality, whether morality could be separated from the doctrinal tenets of particular denominations. In terms of schooling, the question was simply put: how could religious and thus moral values be assured in the schools when the state was committed to non-sectarianism? The answer led to a reassessment of the relationship between theology and morality which distinguished between denominational tenets and generalized moral values. Being a good citizen meant upholding common "golden rules" which tied Americans together no matter what their religious affiliation. Out of this compromise, the acceptance of a common Protestantism which minimized the importance of doctrinal distinctions, the public school emerged as America's established church, making Protestantism and patriotism synonymous. The forging of a common Protestantism and its association with national identity thus allowed non-Protestants to become Americans by identifying with Protestant values. But it also meant that groups which found their particular religious doctrines essential to morality, most prominently Roman Catholics, would be forced to challenge, modify, or reject the dogmas of public education.

The nature of the consensus over Protestantism in the common school and the conflicts which it engendered were apparent by the mid-nineteenth

century. The underlying assumption was that morality could be taught on a non, or more accurately, interdenominational basis, and could thus be distinguished from theological practices associated with particular denominations. The process appeared first among religious charity organizations. In urban areas, denominations turned over responsibility for schooling the poor to Protestant interdenominational missionary societies. By the 1840's, these had begun to transfer their educational work to public authorities, with little substantive change in the Protestant orientation of the educational system.

Protestant cooperation also occurred on the frontier and in small towns where ministers worked to establish schools which served the whole community. Often the most educated men in their communities, clerics found their pastoral and educational duties inseparable. Church and school served similar functions; the task was to gather in "if possible young and old, and learn them to read." Ministers petitioned state legislatures for funds to establish public schools. In many areas, they were the teachers, superintendents, and textbook authors. On a larger scale, the American Home and Baptist Missionary Societies crossed denominational lines to organize Sunday Schools and distribute Bibles. Protestant colleges in the Midwest stressed the training of teachers for the common schools. Since the colleges drew primarily from local areas and needed whatever tuition paying students they could find, they frequently moderated the particular denominational basis upon which most were founded. "By their establishment and control of both public and private schools," Timothy Smith concludes, "churchmen stamped upon neighborhoods, states, and nation an interdenominational Protestant ideology

which nurtured dreams of personal and social progress. By the middle of the nineteenth century, leading citizens assumed that Americanism and Protestantism were synonymous and that education and Protestantism were allies." One minister asserted that "Primary instruction in the United States owes almost everything to Religion as the most efficient of all the principles that prompts to its promotion," while the Congregational minister Lyman Beecher phased it even more succinctly, calling for "a Bible for every family, a school for every district, and a pastor for every thousand souls." (Smith, 1967; Tyack, 1966)

The organization of common schools in the nineteenth century was thus part of a broader movement to evangelize society which included missionary, Bible and temperance societies, Sunday Schools, religious revivals, as well as common schools. In homogenous Protestant communities this quest for a common Christianity was accomplished harmoniously by blurring denominational distinctions and creating a kind of pan-Protestantism. Americans there achieved a consensus on such issues as Bible reading, prayers, and holiday observances. In more polyglot urban areas, where local schools virtually functioned as independent entities, a strong majority with common religious beliefs could achieve a similar consensus on the relationship between religion and schooling. But in these more heterogenous communites, this association between Protestantism and patriotism could evoke sharp conflict. Events in New York City during the 1830's and early 1840's provide a striking example.

Between 1806 and the 1840's, the Public School Society of New York, an

interdenominational Protestant organization, received public funds to school the city's poor children. The Society's educational program was predicated upon the assumption that moral values could be taught separated from religious doctrines and theology, thereby allowing schools to overcome divisive religious sectarianism. Although the Public School Society was run by a self-regulating, self-perpetuating board of trustees, the close association of interdenominational Protestantism and citizenship education, the Society's near monopoly on public educational funds, and the large number of children enrolled in its schools, more than twenty thousand by 1839, made the Society the foremost provider of free schooling in the city. After 1830, however, its position came under heated attack, especially among leaders of the growing Irish Catholic community. Initially, Catholics sought a compromise whereby they would play a greater role in the education of Catholic children in the Society's schools. Rejected, Catholics, under the leadership of Bishop John Hughes, escalated their demands attacking the Society and seeking public funds for their own schools.

The ensuing conflict of the early 1840's was bitter and complicated, pitting the affluent philanthropists of the Public School Society against a largely immigrant poor Catholic church, nativists against foreign born, and Democrats against Whigs. Repeated in various ways in countless communities across the nation, the New York conflict revealed some of the most fundamental tensions of mid-nineteenth century citizenship education. In their fight against the Society, Catholics claimed that the before the 1820's public funds were apportioned to church schools which were responsive to parental values, that religion and education were inseparable, and that the Society's

schools were simultaneously infidel (failing to teach religion) and sectarian (Protestant). The Society, they argued, had "labelled their schools as if they belonged to the community at large, 'Public Schools'....they are merely called 'public school,' but they belong to a private corporation who have crept up into high favor with the powers that be and have assumed the exclusive right of monopolizing the education of youth." Condemning the anti-Catholic books used by the society and use of the King James Bible, the Catholics asserted that their children were being deprived of an education because parents refuse to send them to biased Protestant schools. (Ravitch, 1974)

The Catholic attack was met by attempts to show that the sectarian division of public funds would undermine the basis for a common citizenship and that a common moral code could be taught separate from religion. The society implied, moreover, that it was dangerous to give control of schools to the agents of the immigrant poor. The conflict quickly got caught up in municipal and state politics, and its outcome only partially resolved the issues. In 1842, the state legislature divested the Public School Society of its public fund monopoly, but rejected the Church's appeal for funds. Education explicitly in the interests of sectarian aims was not to be supported with public money which was instead to be given to locally elected school officials. What was taught was now explicitly open to the political process.

The rejection of public funds for church schools sharpened the distinction between public and private education, a distinction only haphazardly made during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Minority groups that lacked sufficient political power to force compromises in the public system could resort to

their own schools but they could no longer claim they functioned in the public interest and therefore should receive public funds. During the nineteenth century, immigrant Catholics as well as other denominational groups determined to keep control over their children's schooling and were active in establishing their own schools. They, along with a small but influential group of high tuition schools for wealthy Protestants, were the major alternatives to the rapidly expanding public school system.

That public education intricately tied Protestantism to patriotism seems to have suited the views of the majority of nineteenth century Americans Since, as David Tyack has noted, "God had chosen America to be the Christian nation," citizenship meant being a moral individual in a Christian communuty. The nation was a state of mind; its central educational concern lay in the development of character, the nurturing of Christian, republican individuals. Such a view was especially congenial to the men who emerged as the leaders of American education in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Overwhelmingly native born, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, and raised in homogeneous small towns, the white males who became superintendents of schools viewed themselves, like the ministers of their era, as being imbued with a value system that was self-evidently American. The curriculum, textbooks, and pedagogy whose implementation they supervised manifested similar assumptions. (Tyack, 1976)

A prime example were school textbooks. Until well into the twentieth century, these were often the sole curriculum and pedagogical guides available to the inexperienced and transient individuals who comprised ne teaching force. The texts were for school children to memorize and recite,

and their most constant theme was national unity. Despite moments of dissent, the United States, students were told, had achieved a consensus on all moral, political, and economic issues. To substantiate this, schoolbooks discussed and indeed, created folk heroes, men who stood above the disputes of their time; the Revolutionary heroes, the self-made Franklin, the tolerant Lincoln, and above all, Washington--resembling Christ--were the models for America's youth. One text told its readers, "Begin with the infant in his cradle/Let the first word he lisps be WASHINGTON."

The textbooks placed America's national destiny on a divine level. Americans were the chosen people. The Constitution and the Mosaic code were treated analogously. God acted directly in the American Revolution, preparing Washington for his role and America for its destiny. As one history of the United States concluded, "We cannot but feel that God has worked in a mysterious way to bring good out of evil. It was He, and not man, who saw and directed the end from the beginning." This was an ethical rather than a theological God, concerned with moral behavior and linked almost exclusively with Protestantism. Even as the texts became more secular, this intimacy between God and nation persisted. The Revolution thus stood as the preeminent event of American history. As an act of creation it seemed a logical extension of Genesis. Other societies might be praised, but America was the "Freest, the most enlightened, and the most prosperous" in the world's history. (Elson, 1964)

The imperatives which a divine national identity placed upon education were apparent in the treatment of racial, religious, and nationality groups. Mankind was divided into separate immutable races with inherent characteristics. In the hierarchy of races, Negroes were the most degraded: gay, thoughtless, unintelligent, and subject to violent passions. While slavery was usually regarded as an evil, especially in textbooks published after the Civil War, Negroes continued to be seen as inferior, lacking those qualities necessary for full citizenship. Native Indians were similarly inferior to whites; they were either "noble savages" or, if they resisted the march of progress, were simply savages. In either case, the extinction was presented as inevitable. Catholicism was condemned as a false religion. Subversive of the state, inimical to morality, the Church fostered tyranny, superstitution, and greed. The image of Jews changed during the nineteenth century from a distinctly religious to a racial group. By the century's end, they were portrayed as incapable of full assimilation into the American melting pot. Their quest for material goods had taken on sinister overtones, identified with urban vices and contrasted to rural morality.

The national identity of countries outside the United States was similarly viewed as a product of racial characteristics. The Irish were impulsive, quick tempered, violent, fond of drink, and impoverished. The French were more complicated: frivolous and Catholic, yet the home of Lafayette and Napoleon. Worst of all were the Southern Europeans: racially homogenous, indolent, and Catholic. Italy was a vast ruin

ruled by superstitution and the papacy; Spain and Portugal bigoted, the home of the Inquisition. While other nations, especially England and Germany received more generous treatment, nineteenth century textbooks taught American children harsh stereotypes of the newcomers populating their land with increasing frequency. The lesson was clear: in America there existed a hierarchy of Americanism. In their classrooms, children learned that the best Americans were White, Male, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant.

The lessons of the classroom did not recognize the validity of cultural pluralism, and throughout the nineteenth century the thrust of public education was to reject the legitimacy of distinctive ethnic, religious, and nationality values. In New York City, the Public School Society which virtually ran the city's schools before the mid-1840's abolished a school established for German children and rejected appeals for one for Italians. "When foreigners are in the habit of congregating together they retain their national customs, prejudices and feelings," the Society reported, and are thus "not as good members of society as they would otherwise be." Children in the German school "retain their national costume, manners and feelings, while those German children who mingle promiscuously in other schools lose all trace of nationality." And, indeed, this was the highest goal of the schools: to eliminate all traces of nationality. In isolated rural areas or where an immigrant group gained political control over the local school system, distinctive cultural values might be taught or

a foreign language accepted as the language of instruction. Invariably, however, pressure often from former immigrant groups themselves, built to eliminate or prevent any allegiance to dissenting or "non-American" values. Teaching in German in the public schools, for example, was discontinued after 1875 in St. Louis, Louisville, St. Paul, and San Francisco. A number of states passed legislation making English the required language of instruction in public schools and occasionally private schools. The assumption that cultural uniformity was the only basis upon which public education could exist made private schooling the only alternative open to dissenters, and even this was frequently opposed. Cultural homogenization was not the exclusive purpose of schooling, but as the historian Carl Kaestle suggests, "it dominated the thinking of schoolmen." (Kaestle, 1974)

Americanization and Schooling

The drive toward cultural homogeneity in the public schools reached its fullest expression in the Americanization movement of the decades surrounding World War I. The movement was a complex phenomenon, incorporating the trends of the previous century, enlarged upon by urban and industrial instability and the tensions of war, but also invoking the desires of minorities, black and white to become part of the American mainstream. Americanization's basic theme was the danger to society posed by those who fail to assimilate and who thus effectively manifested their disloyalty. The xenophobia of these years was no aberration, for as John Higham has written, it "illuminates darkely some of the large contours of the American past," mirroring American's national anxieties and its bounds of tolerance. (Higham, 1966)

The attacks on immigrants during the first decades of the 20th century reinforced the notion that national group identity was incompatible with citizenship. The outbreak of hostilities in Europe had seen many immigrants return to defend their homelands, or those who stayed organized in support of their countrymen's efforts. The initial concern in the United States was that these activities would draw America into a European conflict. As the country moved toward involvement, however, old world allegiances were looked upon as threats to preparedness and the war effort; the hyphenate problem became a test of national unity. Fear that foreigners would corrupt American values and would act as centers of anti-Americanism were not new. What was novel to the nativism of the early 20th century, however, was the application of racial categories to European nationality groups.

The years 1890 to 1915 saw a sharp increase in foreign born newcomers, the 15 million arrivals almost equalling the total number for the rest of the 19th century. But more striking, since the percentage of foreign born in the population remained stationary, was the geographical shift in the sources of migration. Whereas the British Isles, Germany, and Scandinavia had been the largest contributors, now the majority of immigrants came from Austro-Hungary, Italy, Russia, Greece, and other southeastern European countries. By 1900, the differences between the old immigration--northern and western Europe, largely Protestant, and often dispersed in midwestern and rural parts of the United States--and the new--southern and eastern European, Catholic or Jewish, and heavily congregated in northeastern cities--had become

a prime topic of social science research and popular investigation. "Everywhere," John Higham writes, "the thought of European immigration now suggested strange images of Mediteranean, Slavic, and Jewish types, rather than the familiar German, Irishman, or Scandinavian," (Higham, 1966)

The social implications of these images were remarkably summarized and propagated by the U.S. Immigration Commission, appointed in 1907 to study the effects of immigration on American life. The Commission's report issued in 1911 in 42 volumes offered statistics on occupations, school achievement, illiteracy, disease, crime, child-bearing, rates of assimilation and naturalization, The Commission's data were remarkably complex. The Commission's summary was remarkably clear: the immigrants from southeastern Europe were innately inferior to the old immigration from northwestern Europe, and the newer group was less capable of being Americanized. The old immigrants were presumed to have come to settle; the new were "birds of passage" having little interest in America and simply desiring an economic stake to return home with. The new immigration, the Commission argued, showed a high propensity to crime and high rates of illiteracy, marks of their inherent racial characteristics. Southern and eastern Europeans were more unskilled, less suited for work in the industrial society than previous immigrants. Their willingness to accept low wages and to live in impoverished conditions pushed the native born out of work, increased the industrial accident rate, undermined wage scales, and generally led to a deterioration in the conditions of labor. In sum,

the old immigration had strengthened America; the new was leading to unmitigated disaster. (U.S. Immigration Commission, 1911)

Ideas such as these laid the basis for the campaign for 100 percent Americanism in the schools, at work, and at leisure. Although never a formal system of ideas, 100 percentism demanded conformity and national loyalty, requiring an evangelical commitment to duty. Opposition or doubts about government policy was seen as an immediate threat to the "American way of life." In the schools this meant a renewed emphasis upon the shaping of the foreign born and their children to a predefined notion of citizenship. "The education of the immigrant," reported one U.S. Bureau of Education publication, was "not primarily for the sake of the immigrant, but... a most necessary step to make democracy secure." In countless communities, special classroom Americanization activities occurred, evening English and citizenship classes were open or expanded, and special school-based community programs begun. Becoming an American meant speaking, reading and writing English with a knowledge of the rights, duties, and privileges of American citizenship dependent upon that language. During the war, these concerns intensified. Schools became overtly political and ideological. Children were extensions of the war effort, raising farm crops in "victory gardens" saving scrap metal, newspapers and magazines and taking physical education or military drill as part of the preparedness campaign. In Milwaukee, where Germans and socialism were strong, public school teachers were forced to sign loyalty oaths and foreign languages were elliminated from the elementary school curriculum. By 1919, fifteen states had made English the sole language of construction in all public

and private elementary schools. New York and other states required that all public school teachers be citizens; Nebraska extended the legislation to private schools. (Hartmann, 1948)

Many states began funding evening Americanization classes, either for the first time or on a greatly expanded basis. New York and other states made evening school attendance of non-English speaking persons between the ages of 16 and 21 compulsory. In Detroit, the board of education called the evening school the most important place for foreigners to "meet and learn American ideals and political life." Between 1914 and 1916 that city more than doubled its evening school expenditures and enrollment. Cooperating with the U.S. Bureau of Naturalization, Detroit's Board of Commerce and other local industrialists, the Detroit School Board had handbills and posters distributed in factories, placed appeals to attend evening classes in pay envelopes, and asked ministers and priests to participate in the drive to boost attendance. Some employers made night school a condition of work or promotion, or otherwise strongly urged their employees to attend. The Board of Commerce published a free textbook on local government, while the federal courts were persuaded to accept satisfactory completion of the citizenship courses as partially sufficient for naturalization.

What was taught in these naturalization and evening classes was an extension of what had already become common to the public school curriculum. "Textbooks for immigrants," David Tyack writes, "stressed cleanliness to the point of obsession, implying the readers had never known soap, a tooth brush, or a hair brush." Immigrant women were

told "dirty windows are bad." Evening school readers presented an array of job opportunities, explaining the requirements of the work, the benefits to be derived, and the necessary steps to apply for a job. However, the occupations presented tended to be those available in rural and small town America rather than those of the city; blacksmiths, cobblers, and tailors leaped out of the books as examples of opportunity for the newcomers. In evening schools, the foreign born were warned to avoid the corruption of the political machine and the ward boss, while importuned to move from the city to take advantage of small town and rural America. Instruction in behavior was invariably reinforced by inspirational discussions. One lesson began: "This country is the United States of America. It is the land of freedom and liberty, because the people govern themselves. All citizens love their country, because they know that this freedom was earned by men who gave their lives for it." (Tyack, 1974; Lazerson, 1971)

The Americanization of the foreign-born at least implied that most of the newcomers could eventually enter the melting pot, becoming citizens provided they chose to be Americans. For America's black population, the prospects were bleaker. Harsh stereotypes and discrimination, Jim Crow legislation, and the application of pseudo-scientific findings institutionalized second class citizenship for blacks. By the first decades of the 20th century, the public schooling of black children often incorporated the following assumptions:

> Educational tests showed that black children had low mental levels and therefore were unfit for rigorous academic learning.
>
> Economic discrimination meant that blacks could not get good jobs. Black education should thus be for jobs actually available in the labor market: domestic service for girls and unskilled menial labor for boys.
>
> The immoral environments and families in which black children grew up meant that education for blacks should emphasize basic moral values.
>
> (Tyack, 1974)

These assumptions were never accepted by the black community. While black leaders divided over what constituted the most appropriate education for blacks, they were often outspoken in their rejection of the notion that all education for their children should be for second class citizenship. An intense commitment to black colleges and a few black schools over which they had control were the bases for the creation of a middle class out of which came many of the leaders in the fight for equal citizenship of the mid 20th century. At local levels, conflict over what education was most applicable for the citizenship of blacks often evolved around whether public schools were to be integrated or segregated. Sometimes the issue was phrased in terms of integration of black children into white schools as the essential basis upon which black would be treated equally with whites, and the only means of preparing both races for a more integrated society. Sometimes however blacks fought for separate but equal schools, places where their children could be taught by black teachers and where they would be free from the hostility and prejudices of white children and white teachers. The politics of these conflicts varied greatly; court action against school boards, pleas directed at the public, lobbying of legislatures, and school boycotts were all used to force a citizenship education based on equal opportunity and equal citizenship for non whites. (Meier & Rudwick, 1976)

The assumptions of 100 percent Americanization and discrimination against blacks were harsh; the measures implemented sometimes extreme, particularly in communities where groups like the resurgent Klu Klux Klan of the early 1920's gained prominence. But it would be a mistake to understand Americanization and second class citizenship simply as imposed phenomena. Many educators resisted the harsh stereotyping, the tendency toward sharply differentiating between the unacceptable past and the American future, between black and white, as well as the creation of feelings of shame among their students. In any given classroom what citizenship meant could be complicated. While textbooks might portray one set of values or a denigrate a particular ethnic or racial group, students and teachers might acknowledge other codes or reject the lessons of the curriculum. Often allegiance to common values was part of the compromise which allowed Polish, Irish, Jewish, Italian, Chinese, Slovak, Black, and WASP youth and teachers to share the same school and classroom. The decentralized structure of American education in the 19th century opened schools to informal community pressures. As groups gained political and economic power and as their numbers became prominent as teachers during the 20th century, they successfully erased the most flagrant examples of stereotyping and discrimination, toward their own group at least.

Moreover, many native and foreign born saw schooling for citizenship as essential to minority achievement. In the midst of a heated controversy over the teaching of foreign languages in 1889, the governer of Wisconsin raised issues of immediate concern to all minorities:

"I want the little German boy and girl, the little Norwegian, the little Bohemian and little Pole, the children of all foreign-born parents, to have the same chance in life as my children. Without the knowledge of English language they cannot have this chance.... I plead for the children of foreign-born parents for the reason that I personally know many who were born in this country who are handicapped by ignorance of the language of the country....Advancement in life for them is out of the question without a knowledge of the language of the country." (Welter, 1971) It was clear that success required competence in language and numbers, an ability and willingness to follow time schedules and fill out forms, and adopt styles of thinking congruent with American industrialism. For white and non-white together, as David Tyack suggests, "the urban public schools--with their stress on language and mathematics, their norms of punctuality and standardized performance--helped to bridge the rural folk cultures of their parents and the expectations of those who held power in American society." (Tyack, 1974)

Minorities in America rarely rejected the advice or the suggestion that they should become as much like their neighbors as possible. What they sought were mechanisms which provided access to America's material benefits without being forced to denigrate their past, in the sociologist W.I.Thomas terms, they wished an Americanization which did not require the "destruction of memories." (Gutman, 1973) Ethnic leaders were thus often in the forefront of the less harsh,

"softer" Americanization measures. Through the ethnic press and voluntary societies, they urged the learning of English, attendance at public day and evening school, and the internalization of an industrial work ethic. Black Americans pressed for better facilities, boycotting inferior segregated education and discrimination within integrated schools. Especially through support for black colleges, they challenged assumptions that their race could not learn. For white and black minorities, how to be both ethnic and American, in W.E.B. DuBois' words, how to be black and American did not seem impossible. But it was also not easy. (Meir and Rudwick, 1976, DuBois 1903)

Citizenship and Work

Education for work, preparation for what was once understood as a "calling," had not been central to 17th & 18th century schooling. Well into the 19th century, schools were not closely tied to the world of work. They were only one of a number of routes to occupational entry, and rarely the best or most frequently followed; apprecticeships and on-the-job experiences in a household based economy remained the most common forms of vocational training. "The way to occupational success for the ordinary man," as Carl Kaestle has pointed out for 18th century New York, "was not through the schoolhouse door, but in the workshop of a skilled artisan." (Kaestle, 1974) Where schoolmasters taught vocationally-oriented subjects, accounting, navigation, surveying, for example, they competed with the other ways of gaining that knowledge. Nor were the skills learned in school necessarily useful. Even literacy was not required for school success at many 18 & 19th century occupations. For the wealthy, extended schooling was a reflection of leadership, neither required nor functionally related to vocaitonal ends, except for ministers, to a much lesser extent, lawyers. Schools taught habits of good conduct and morality that would translate into later success. The key were the habits and values, not the fact that one learned them in school.

During the 19th century these assumptions were modified, as Americans adapted to the demands of industrial capitalism, and the schools mediated between rural, preindustrial populations and the urban-industrial work place. Preindustrial work patterns were casual,

in agriculture dependent upon the seasons and land, among artisans upon independent control over hours and products. Household and group cohesion dominated expectations. These shaped the rhythm of labor. Intense involvement was followed by idleness, a host of rituals and festivals interupted work schedules. These were the patterns that native migrants, European immigrants, black slaves, and American Indians carried with them.

Industrial capitalism, however, demanded a new morality, one that depended upon consistency and regularity and the individualist ethic of self-control, self-discipline, and self-improvement. Many of the phrases that described this morality were not new; their meanings were. Once the term industry simply referred to hard work. By the mid 19th century it was coming to mean "devotion to a methodical work routine." As Oscar Handlin has hoted, "the dictatorship of the clock and schedule (Dawley & Faler, 1976) became absolute," a fact poignantly described by a New York City garment worker at the turn of the century:

> The Clock in the workshop, --it rests not a moment;
> It points on, and ticks on; eternity--time;
> Once someone told me the clock had a meaning,--
> In pointing and ticking had reason and rhyme...
> The reason of old--the old meaning is gone!
> The maddening pendulum urges me forward
> To labor and still labor on...
> The clock--I shudder--Dost hear how it draws me?
> It calls me "Machine" and it cries [to] me "sew!"
>
> (Gutman, 1973; Lazerson, 1971)

Industrial capitalism did not triumph immediately or without conflict. The implementation of technology and capitalist social relations of production varied over time and from place to place. Traditional work patterns thus continued in certain regions, among particular group, and within occupations. (McLaughlin, 1977) Moreover, the new ethic was contradictory: individualism and achievement versus subservience of self to the production needs of industrial work settings. On the one hand, family and group was subordinated to individual achievement; on the other hand the subservience of self to the requirements of the work place would enhance such achievement. And, since America's labor force was constantly being renewed by premodern migrants to the cities, industrial work routines were always in conflict with the values of significant numbers of workers.

Critics called the tensions thus engendered the disorganization of working class and migrant life. This was only partially accurate, for the conflicts were complicated by the very strength of non-industrialized families and culture, the "tough familial and kin ties (that) made possible the transmission and adoption of European working-class cultural patterns beliefs to industrializing America." (Gutman, 1973) Social disorder, street gangs, youth neither at work nor at school, industrial protest, andoccasional food riots were more than assorted acts of criminality, more than simply the moral failings of the poor. They revealed rather the conflicts between strong cultural traditions and the functioning of the economic system. They were part of a process

that included benevolent societies, ethnic and racial churches and political organizations, working class saloons and communal festivals as cushions against the demands of the industrial workplace.

This cultural conflict was an essential basis for the expansion of schooling during the 19th and early 20th centuries. For those who viewed themselves as moral stewards of society or were its economic leaders, schools became a mechanism to create an inner-directed sober and diferential workforce of the future. Simultaneously for those who aspired to success, adopting more acceptable codes of conduct was imperative. For their children, schools provided a means of occupational success. But like the messages of individual achievement and subservience in work settings, the message of schooling was often contradictory. Urged to seize opportunity and be aggressive and self-centered, school children were simultaneously told to be obedient and learn their place in the hierarchical society. Caught in the contradictions of an economic system that demanded both individualism and subservience, which separated self development from work, the school's role as a cultural mediator required that it simultaneously socialize the young to individual self development and prepare them for work environments which discounted individual growth. Moreover, schools had to rationalize the system in which hard work and thrift where necessary for success but did not guarantee it in which some would be economically successful and others not. As the most widely-used school text, the McGuffey Reader phrased it:

Work, work my boy, be not afraid;
Look labor boldly in the face;
Take up the hammer or the spade,
And blush not for your humble place.

(Elson, 1964)

By the beginning of the 20th century, preparation for work as an essential feature of citizenship education and the school's responsibility for that preparation were fundamental assumptions of American education. They received their fullest expression in the vocational education movement. Education for work as an essential goal of schooling was not new to the early decades of the 20th century. But the notion of work had, during the latter part of the 19th century, undergone dramatic alteration. The expansion of industry, the factory specialization of labor, and the appearance of what to many observers looked to be a permanent proletariat raised considerable question about the self fulfillment to be found in the occupational structure and the degree of opportunity in that structure. What emerged was a belief that Americans could no longer rely on the work place as a source of training in adequate social values or as a jumping off place for social and occupational mobility. Nor, it was argued, could schools assume that generalized training in thrift, industry, and perseverence would naturally lead to appropriate behavior at the workplace. Work which had once been thought of as the essential basis of an ethical and aspiring society was increasingly becoming to be thought of in terms of jobs which were not satisfying in themselves and were as often limiting rather than expanding for the individual. (Gilbert, 1977; Bowles and Gintis, 1976)

Vocationalism was only one of a number of mechanisms for combating the dilemmas caused by work in a modern society. But in trying to teach job skills and in articulating a belief that the value of schooling lay in its ability to prepare youth for the job market the vocational education movement reshaped the assumptions of American education, and the appropriate ways schools trained citizens. That the concern was with citizenship as much as with productivity could be seen in the report of the Commission on National Aid to Vocational Education of 1914, the most influencial document of the movement. "It is safe to say," the commission declared, "that industry in its highly organized form with its intense specialization, is in the main narrowing to the individual worker, and while 'hands' alone may satisfy the immediate demands of industry, the failure to recognize and provide for human progress and development is producing a restless and discontented people. Out of this unrest comes a demand for a more practical education for those who toil...Everywhere it is the opinion of those who are studying the conditions of society that the lack of practical education is one of the primary causes of social and industrial discontent." (Lazerson & Grubb, 1974)

Citizenship in a Pluralist World

In the decades since 1940 Americans have partially modified their views as to what the nature of citizenship education should be. They have moderated the fierce Americanization of the World War I era, their resistance to recognition of the ethnic background of students, and

the sharp dichotomies between education for citizenship for blacks and that for whites. One aspect of that modification was the emergence of the "intercultural education" movement of the 1930's and 1940's.

There were,as Nathan Glazer has pointed out, two themes in the intercultural education movement. The first centered on the assumption that one should not be ashamed of one's heritage. The second assumption was that we should all be tolerant of racial,religious, and cultural differences. "In effect, intercultural education was America's answer to Hitler's preaching of group hatred." In the movement, the theme of tolerance outweighed that of the celebration of heritage and diversity. (Glazer, 1977) Intercultural education was the basis for a wave of interest in intercultural organizations, curricula, and publications. In once sense of course, the movement was defensive, an attempt to portray the United States as a society which was inherently different and superior to the Nazism of the 1930's and 1940's. It was also clear that the movement did not invision a commitment by the public schools to present or preserve a complete vision of America's varied ethnic cultures. It was a middle ground which tried to combine the commonalities of American life and an unwillingness to allow minorities to "cling to ways of living which are incongruent to democratic practice " with the recognition that individuals "should be free to practice and perpetuate such of their group's traditional values, folkways and customs as do not conflict with democratic principles." The stress was thus on the past contributions

of ethnic groups and the vulnerability of American society as a strong national entity to ethnic and racial discrimination. The intercultural movement was thus committed to national unity, but it argued in an organized way for a larger sense of America, one which made the citizenship education of the schools dependent upon a recognition that America had been created out of diverse origins. (Goodenow, 1975)

The intercultural education movement was difficult to sustain during the Cold War atmosphere of the 1950's. Whatever attention was paid to America's past in the schools had to be limited by a recognition that differences were no longer to be a feature of American life and that above all else the test of a free society required unity and loyalty. There were challenges to those assumptions, mainly in the efforts by black Americans to establish equality for themselves. But much of this continued to be predicated on earlier assumptions, the desirability and necessity of having all people, regardless of race or ethnic background, integrated into the mainstream of American life. The message through the 1950's remained the desirability of conformity to accepted patterns of behavior. This is not meant to underplay the significance which access had for those discriminated against; as the tensions and conflicts of the decade showed, integration into the mainstream for blacks could taken as a possible radical restructuring of American society.

But not until the 1960's did an ideology emerge which articulated a pluralist vision of society that stood in sharp contrast to those

of previous generations. The issue has gone beyond tolerance to become one of a positive assertion of multi ethnic differences. As a curriculum guideline prepared by the National Council for Social Studies puts it:

> Ethnic diversity should be recognized and respected at individual, group, and societal levels.
>
> Ethnic diversity provides a basis for societal cohesiveness and survival.
>
> Equality of opportunity should be afforded to members of all ethnic groups.
>
> Ethnic identification should be optional for individuals.
>
> (Glazer, 1977)

This assertion that ethnic diversity should be the essential basis upon which citizenship education takes place represents a substantially new theme in American educational history. It is based on an intensified self awareness and militancy among ethnic groups and is motivated by a strong sense that the educational system has failed minorities. Its major emphasis is upon the importance of group identity for the cohesiveness of the group and the mental health and the achievement of the individual. And, it seeks state support for its goals.

While much within the multicultural citizenship education movement has roots in the past, it is nonetheless a significant modification in the theory if not yet the practices of American education. Legislation at the federal and state levels as well as informal responses to pressure have led to a growing concern that the study of ethnic groups be an integral part of one's education. When added to the growing

movement for bilingual education, one has a sense of something new on the horizon. Whether such proposals and the assumptions which underlay them will in fact result in a redefined view of how citizens are to be educated and what, indeed, constitutes citizenship remains to be seen. Certainly the current movement in multicultural education is fraught with complexities and ambiguities. Many of the movement's leaders themselves are ambivalent about how far a stress on group roots and the continuities of group traditions into the present should be pressed. Moreover, groups are hardly the same in their relationship between their past and present. The dilemmas created by federal and state legislation which tends to treat very different groups in similar ways will not be easy to resolve. But most important the complex relationship among American commonalities, ethnic and racial distinctiveness, voluntary organizations, state involvement, and individual choice are clearly in a state of flux. How these are to be integrated into American notions of citizenship remain open. That they are in a state of flux, however, in itself is a good sign.

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Appendix 4

HANDOUT INFORMATIONAL MATERIALS FOR HISTORIANS COLLOQUIUM

COLLOQUIUM

HISTORY OF CITIZEN EDUCATION

April 19 and 20, 1978
Philadelphia, Pa.

Sponsored by Research for Better Schools, Inc.

AGENDA

EXCEPT FOR WEDNESDAY DINNER, ALL FUNCTIONS WILL BE HELD IN THE CONYNGHAM ROOM, HOLIDAY INN

April 19

4-5 p.m.	Registration and check-in
4:15-5:15 p.m.	Refreshments
5:15-5:45 p.m.	Tour
6-7:30 p.m.	Dinner - City Tavern, 2nd & Walnut Streets
7:30-8 p.m.	At restaurant: Overview of CE program; synopsis of colloquium objectives and participants' roles. Return to Holiday Inn.
8-8:30 p.m.	Summary presentation of first paper
8:30-9 p.m.	Reaction of review panel to first paper
9-9:15 p.m.	Dialogue among review panel and paper presenters concerning first paper
9:15-9:45 p.m.	Summary presentation of second paper
9:45-10:15 p.m.	Reaction of review panel to second paper
10:15-10:30 p.m.	Dialogue among review panel and paper presenters concerning second paper

April 20

8:30-9 a.m.	Summary presentation of third paper
9-9:30 a.m.	Reaction of review panel to third paper
9:30-9:45 a.m.	Dialogue among review panel and paper presenters concerning third paper
9:45-10 a.m.	Coffee break
10-11 a.m.	Dialogue among review panel and paper presenters considering papers as a group
11-12 noon	Continued dialogue, with focus shifting to colloquium objectives and how the papers and proceedings relate to them
12-1 p.m.	Lunch
1-2:15 p.m.	Formulation of recommendations for the development of CE programs, including caveats
2:15-3:30 p.m.	Identification of priority issues calling for further exploration and research
3:30-3:45 p.m.	Concluding business
4 p.m.	Adjournment

COLLOQUIUM

HISTORY OF CITIZEN EDUCATION

April 19 and 20, 1978
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Sponsored by Research for Better Schools, Inc.

Preliminary Attendance List

Authors

R. Freeman Butts
Department of Education
San Jose University

Clarence J. Karier
Department of History
University of Illinois

Marvin Lazerson
Department of Education
University of British Columbia

Reviewers

John H. Best
Department of Education
The Pennsylvania State University

William W. Cutler, III
Department of Educational Foundations
Temple University

Allen F. Davis
Department of History
Temple University

Michael B. Katz
Department of History
York University (Toronto)

Christopher Lucas
Learned Societies in Education
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Observers

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Judith Wilson
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Moderator

Russell A. Hill
Senior Research Fellow
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Research for Better Schools, Inc.

COLLOQUIUM

HISTORY OF CITIZEN EDUCATION

April 19 and 20, 1978
Philadelphia, Pa.

Biographical Sketches of Colloquium Authors and Reviewers

John H. Best is director of the Division of Education Policy Studies and professor of history of education at The Pennsylvania State University. He holds degrees in history and education from Duke University and the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. His interest in education and historiography developed over the years in his work with graduate students in history of education as well as with undergraduates in teacher education at both Rutgers University and Georgia State University, Atlanta. He has served as book review editor of the History of Education Quarterly, as archivist of the John Dewey Society, and as a consulting editor of Educational Studies. He is author and editor of Benjamin Franklin on Education (Teachers College, Columbia University, 1962) and of The American Legacy of Learning (Lippincott, 1967). This year Dr. Best is president of the American Educational Studies Association. He is currently interested in the development of a national assessment of archival materials in education.

R. Freeman Butts is Distinguished Professor of Education at San Jose University and Visiting Scholar at Stanford University. He received the M.A. degree in educational administration from the University of Wisconsin in 1932 and the Ph.D. degree in history of education from the same university in 1935. Following a year of postdoctoral study (history, philosophy, education) at Columbia University, Dr. Butts joined the faculty there, his Columbia career culminating in his appointment as William F. Russell Professor in the Foundations of Education and as associate dean for international studies. The recipient of many honors for his professional distinction, he is a member of legion learned societies, a consultant/advisor to many organizations, and a much-published author and editor.

William W. Cutler, III, is associate professor of history and foundations of education at Temple University, where he has taught since 1968. He received the B.A. degree from Harvard University and the Ph.D. degree from Cornell University in 1968. He has published articles, review essays, and reviews in several journals, including American Quarterly, Educational Theory, History of Education Quarterly, Journal of American History, and Urban Education. He was an NDEA fellow at Cornell and the recipient of the American Quarterly Award for 1972. He is presently coediting and preparing a chapter for a book entitled The Divided Metropolis: The Social and Spatial Dimensions of Philadelphia, 1800-1970.

Allen F. Davis is professor of history at Temple University. Following his undergraduate studies at Dartmouth College, he received the M.A. degree from the University of Rochester and the Ph.D. degree from the University of Wisconsin. He has taught at the University of Wisconsin, Wayne State University, and the University of Missouri. From 1972 to 1977 he was the executive director of the American Studies Association. Dr. Davis is the author of Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement (Oxford Press, 1967); American Heroine: The Life and Legend of Jane Addams (Oxford Press, 1973); Conflict and Consensus in American History (D. C. Heath, 4th edition, 1976); Generations: Your Family in Modern American History (Alfred A. Knopf, 2nd edition, 1978); as well as other publications. His primary interest is American cultural history, with special concern for the history of reform, social welfare, and the family.

Clarence J. Karier is professor of history at the University of Illinois. He received the B.S. degree in history from Wisconsin State Teachers College; the M.S. degree in school administration from the University of Wisconsin; and, in 1960, the Ph.D. degree in history of education from the University of Wisconsin. Following service in the Korean war, he taught citizenship and history in junior high school at Marinette, Wisconsin, for 4 years. Dr. Karier held a joint appointment in history and education at the University of Rochester, where he helped develop the history of education program. In 1967-68 he was visiting professor of history and educational policy at the University of Wisconsin. He joined the University of Illinois faculty in 1969, serving as chairman of the Department of Educational Policy Studies for 4 years and later as professor of history of education. Currently Dr. Karier is president of the History of Education Society. The author of Man, Society and Education and Shaping the Educational State and coauthor of Roots of Crisis, Dr. Karier has published widely in such areas as American liberalism, the testing movement, élite values in American culture, and psychoanalysis and education. His current research interest concerns the relationship between literature, art, psychology, and educational thought and practice in 20th century America.

Michael B. Katz is currently professor of history at York University (Toronto) and the recipient of a Guggenheim Fellowship. He received the M.A. degree in education in 1962 and the Ed.D. degree in history of education in 1966, both from Harvard University. Past-president of the History of Education Society, he also has been a member of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, N.J. Starting in July 1978, Dr. Katz will become professor of education and history at the University of Pennsylvania. His major publications are: The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts; Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools: The Illusion of Educational Change in America; and The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Ninetheenth Century City. He is completing a book on the social organization of early industrial capitalism in North America as well as beginning studies of the fertility transition in America and of the demography of inmate populations in nineteenth-century New York.

Marvin Lazerson is professor of education at the University of British Columbia. He is also a consultant to the Childhood and Government Project, University of California Law School, Berkeley. He holds the A.B. and M.A. degrees from Columbia University and received the Ph.D. in history from Harvard University in 1970. While at Harvard he was a Samuel Stauffer Fellow at the Harvard-M.I.T. Joint Center for Urban Studies, and subsequently taught in the Education and Social Policy program at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. He has also been a visiting professor at Stanford University and the University of Washington. Dr. Lazerson is the author or coauthor of Origins of the Urban School: Public Education in Massachusetts (1971), American Education and Vocationalism (1974); "Rally 'Round the Work Place: Continuities and Fallacies of Career Education" (1975); "Child Care, Government Financing, and the Public Schools: Lessons from California's Children's Centers" (1977); and "Understanding American Catholic Educational History" (1977). He is currently working on a historical study of ethnicity and education and on the development of family-based social policies.

Christopher J. Lucas is professor of education and area coordinator, Social-Philosophic Foundations of Education at the University of Missouri--Columbia. He received his B.A. degree in psychology at Syracuse University (magna cum laude) in 1962; a M.A.T. degree in English and education at Northwestern University in 1964; and the Ph.D. degree in philosophy and education from Ohio State University in 1967. He has worked as a research assistant in psychology at Syracuse, as a secondary school teacher of English in Chicago, as a teaching associate at Ohio State, and as codirector of the International Summer Courses at the University of Salzburg, Austria, 1966-71. Author of What Is Philosophy of Education? (1969), Our Western Educational Heritage (1972), and Challenge and Choice in Contemporary Education (1976), Dr. Lucas has published widely including contributions to a variety of academic and professional journals. He is currently preparing a book on multicultural/multiethnic education in the United States. Dr. Lucas is a member of a number of professional organizations; is the immediate past president of The American Educational Studies Association; and presently serves as executive secretary of the Coordinating Council for Learned Societies in Education. His professional interests include Chinese history and culture, ancient educational history, the philosophy of education, international and comparative educational development, and the politics of education.

CITIZEN EDUCATION OBJECTIVES

The goal of Citizen Education is to prepare students for current and future responsibilities in their interpersonal, community, and political lives by fostering the acquisition of the following knowledge, skills, and dispositions leading to personal satisfaction and the realization of democratic principles:

Knowledge

- Knowledge of the dynamic institutions and systems that exert influence in our society -- law, economics, politics, religion, international relations, and technology
- Knowledge of the historical and contemporary context of recurring social issues related to the above institutions
- Knowledge of the major issues and problems forecast for the above areas and others that may emerge

Skills

- Inquiry skills -- which enable learners to select, organize, evaluate, and use information, with special, but not exclusive, reference to problem-solving and decision-making
- Interpersonal skills -- which enable learners to engage in communication, act cooperatively, exercise leadership, and take part in arbitration
- Action skills -- which enable learners to formulate problems, generate alternatives, set goals, plan strategies, consider consequences, and evaluate courses of action

Dispositions

- Respect and caring for others
- Commitment to equality of all persons
- Commitment to rationality
- Commitment to action and participation
- Commitment to personal freedom limited only by the commitments above
- Identification with positive primary groups and local, national, and world communities

RESEARCH FOR BETTER SCHOOLS, INCORPORATED SUITE 1700 / 1700 MARKET ST., PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19103 / 215 561-4100

CITIZEN EDUCATION

CITIZEN EDUCATION is a component of the Development Division of Research for Better Schools, Inc. (RBS), a nonprofit educational research laboratory in Philadelphia, Pennsyvlania. The Citizen Education component, funded by a grant from the National Institute of Education, is the focal point of RBS's endeavors to advocate and promote quality citizen education efforts in the tri-state region (Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania) served by the laboratory.

RBS' CONCEPTION OF CITIZEN EDUCATION

Traditional citizen education programs have focused on the study of civics and American government. Recently, however, declining performance on citizenship measures and deficits in the degree of social involvement on the part of the citizenry have indicated that the principles of a democratic society are not being transmitted effectively to our nation's youth. Interest in citizen education, therefore, has been renewed and the field has been strengthened by new dimensions. National conferences and task forces have called for programs in citizen education that address a variety of social issues. Having examined the recommendations of these and other sources, RBS conceives of citizen education as "a synthesis of what an effective citizen should know from the following areas of knowledge: civics, community education, economics, environmental and energy education, family life education, global education, law-related education, moral/values education, multicultural education, political participation, social and personal development and social studies."

The RBS approach to citizen education is eclectic, going beyond the traditional areas of curriculum and instruction. It encompasses knowledge from many fields, such as social development and school governance theory, and addresses the social climate of the institution as a whole.

RBS GOALS IN CITIZEN EDUCATION

Citizen Education at RBS seeks to dispose and enable individuals to be more effective participants in democratic society. The goal of the Citizen Education component is to prepare students for current and future responsibilities in their interpersonal, community, and political lives, by fostering the acquisitions of the knowledges, skills, and dispositions that lead to effective civic participation:

- Knowledge of the dynamic political, legal and social institutions of our society, including related issues and problems.

- Skills that enable individuals to make informed decisions, solve problems, act cooperatively, exercise leadership, set realistic goals, and reasonably evaluate various courses of action.

- Dispositions that stress respect for others and commitment to equality, rationality, conscience, and the historic principles of liberty, justice, mercy and pluralism of our society.

FOCUS FOR CITIZEN EDUCATION AT RBS

The Citizen Education component of RBS is seeking to establish a partnership with state, intermediate, and local district educational agencies in the tri-state region. Working within the context of school improvement programs, RBS assists the states in developing and implementing quality citizen education programs. Planning groups established in each state include representatives from the state department of education, RBS personnel and representatives of other interested public and private organizations.

In conjunction with the state planning groups, RBS is, among other activities:

- conducting a survey of citizen education interests, needs, and practices;

- determining citizen education needs statements, objectives, and intervention strategies;

- establishing reference files on citizen education materials, measures, objectives, organizations and programs.

The aim is the development of prototype models of citizen education for all grade levels. Putting the models to work in selected local schools in the three states will involve both the school and its larger community, including such institutional/social sectors as business and industry, labor, law, and government.

Unlike mathematics, citizen education has no standard curriculum. Therefore, RBS will work with the state planning groups to determine the program content of the models and effective instructional techniques. A knowledge base is being developed to this end, with special attention to instruction, evaluation, and teacher preparation. Research and evaluation of the programs and their implementation will be conducted jointly by RBS and the school site improvement teams. In all its activities, RBS will be responsive to local community needs and perceptions of citizen education, designing objectives and programs that can be adapted to the goals of local school districts.